NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

The Chicago Election

THERE have been so many "explanations" of the recent Chicago mayoralty election that another one will do no harm.

It is claimed that the result was determined by international and national trends, by the rise and fall of the popularity of national political parties. But it seems more encouraging and logical to believe this local election was decided on the basis of local issues, as it should have been.

Now that all the face-saving "analyses" have been made, it might help to rehearse some of the basic facts.[1]

Last November the party that had been out for years scored a resounding victory in the congressional elections. Some of its leaders assumed they could win the April municipal election with "nobody." The leaders of that party promptly handpicked a man who was virtually unknown and had an unimpressive record.

The "ins" were frightened by their losses and their none too good reputation (not all of it deserved). They dumped the old boss-mayor and, much to everyone's surprise, nominated a distinguished civic leader noted for his vigorous opposition to the machine of his own party. He campaigned on purely local issues and won overwhelmingly.

Why? Large numbers of Chicago voters welcomed the opportunity to vote for a man who pledged good local government and whose record seemed to affirm that he meant what he said. Many others resented the action of their party leaders in choosing a candidate who was so undesirable that he was able to command the support of only one major newspaper of the city.

Political leaders will perform their functions more satisfactorily and successfully when they realize that municipal problems are important in themselves, too important to be kicked around for some hoped for state or national partisan advantage.

If they perversely remain blind to this opportunity for constructive leadership they will be told increasingly, in the hard language of lost elections, that the voters are tiring of that sort of thing. They might profit, too, by observing the growing tendency of voters to become "independent."

The people of many cities, including some big ones, long ago got over the idea that local elections should be on a partisan basis. Why should they be? Local government is simply a group of services we can render more satisfactorily, efficiently and economically on a community basis than on an individual family basis. Partisan politics should have nothing to do with these services. Who dares claim today that the partisan handling of a city has been wholesome?

Inside Stuff

Five months ago a group of prominent Chicagoans met for a heart-to-

[1] See also March 1947 REVIEW, page 122.

heart talk about the city's future. They were deeply disturbed because one party (the one with which most of them were at least nominally identified) had handpicked a candidate for mayor whom they considered a poorly qualified "nobody."

They feared the other party would pull the same stunt. What reason had they to believe otherwise?

"A good man should run independent," someone suggested, and his idea gained quick acceptance.

"Martin Kennelly would be ideal," another said. There was general agreement. Martin H. Kennelly was a distinguished unbossed civic leader and successful man of affairs. He didn't want to run for mayor but—well, wait and see how badly the other party did its choosing.

The other party, much to the surprise of the entire group, drafted Kennelly—the man who might have run as an independent as a sacrifice protest against bossism.

There's something about this Chicago situation that calls to mind a Gallup poll of some years ago which found that 88.6 per cent of all citizens genuinely want decent, nonpartisan, honest local government.

The chief reason they so often don't get what they want is that selfish partisanship prevents the candidacies which would enable them to get it.

A Challenge

Only a few weeks ago an exploding furnace wrecked a Chicago building and damaged many important buildings in the Loop. Next day it was revealed that the inspector who had declared the furnace safe a few days previously had been a "temporary" appointee for twelve years. In other words, he did not take a civil service test and was appointed for 60 days. Presumably he was reappointed every two months, a total of 72 times!

About ten years ago a roof-top water tank fell through a Chicago building, killing people on its way to the basement. A city "inspector" had looked at it a few days earlier. When asked why he had passed it he said he really didn't know anything about water tanks. How come he was an inspector then? Well, he knew his district leader.

If such things as these are indicative, it looks as if Mayor Kennelly has a job to do.

Eventually

The time will come when the people of Chicago and the other major cities will, by some means other than desperately turning up a white knight at rare intervals, declare their independence of machine politics. They will repudiate bossism. They will insist on nonpartisan, competent management and genuine representation of citizens on the basis of how they think, not where they sleep.

Thus far a cynical bipartisan alliance of Chicago and down-state politicians has been able to prevent Chicagoans from voting on the question of adopting a modern form of government.

But the force of the example of hundreds of other communities, some of them pretty big, will be felt more and more and will bolster the determination of the good citizens of the nation's second city to put off old ways.

Debt Free Idea Loses Allure

Milwaukee voters, after achieving long-sought goal, in advisory referendum favor issuing of improvement bonds.

By NORMAN N. GILL and PAULA LYNAGH*

ON APRIL 1, 1947, the Milwaukee electorate, by a vote of 54,000 to 41,000, approved an advisory referendum question: "Shall the city issue bonds for a program of public improvements?"

It had taken twenty years to accumulate a debt amortization fund equal to the outstanding bonded indebtedness—in effect making the city debt free. Only a year after the goal had been achieved a movement was begun which led to the advisory referendum vote. At the end of 1943 the local press stated:

"From now on, unless a catastrophe should befall the city and require bond issues, there appears to be no reason why future city administrations should ever issue another general obligation bond. By sticking to a cash basis they will insure that the taxpayers receive $1 worth of improvements for every $1 spent, instead of only $1 worth for each $1.50 spent to pay interest and retire principal on bonds."

Milwaukee's experiment to eliminate the city's bonded debt by building up an amortization fund was launched in 1923. The original statute provided that all interest earned on street-paving installments, and at least one-third of the interest earned by the city from all other sources, "shall" be turned over to the debt amortization fund. The city's contributions, which could otherwise have been used as general revenue, totalled $5,594,000. The investments of the amortization fund have earned nearly half the fund's assets.

The debt amortization fund was designed to be a perpetual trust fund, the principal of which would never be spent. One-fourth of its interest earnings were to be added to the principal. The remaining three-fourths were to be applied to interest on any outstanding bonds and to assume new bond issues.

After the amortization fund had been in operation for ten years the net debt had increased by two-thirds, and the fund equalled only 8 per cent of the bonded indebtedness. During these ten years the city had issued almost all the bonds legally permissible. Debt charges for interest and principal on the bonded debt equalled the new bond issues. This was at a time when the city's area expanded 55 per cent, from 26 to 40 square miles.

The Common Council has adhered to a policy of issuing no bonds since 1932. It was largely this policy which enabled the city to become "debt free." In 1932 the net debt

*Mr. Gill, director of the Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee, was formerly Milwaukee's municipal reference librarian. He is author of the book, *Municipal Research Bureaus* (1944). Mrs. Lynagh, staff member of the bureau, was research director for the Joint Committee on Consolidation in Milwaukee County. She wrote the book, *Metropolitan Milwaukee* (1936).

amounted to $46,000,000. By the end of 1943 it was reduced to $11,000,000. Property tax levies and miscellaneous revenues paid the interest and principal on the $35,000,000 of retired bonds. The remaining $11,000,000 indebtedness will be retired by means of the debt amortization fund assets.

A 1939 amendment to the debt amortization fund law provided that when the fund's assets were substantially equal to the general obligation bonds of the city, the assets could be used to pay the debt charges in whole or in part as they became due. This repealed the perpetual trust fund feature.

The budget of 1944 was the first in which the debt amortization fund assets were used to pay the city's debt charges. The last bonds of the city will mature in 1951 (they are not callable), but moneys are on hand in the fund to pay all outstanding debt charges.

The "debt free city" refers to Common Council and school bonded indebtedness. The city of Milwaukee taxpayers' share of the county and metropolitan sewerage district debt is $8,500,000—less than $15 per capita.

In 1937 the Milwaukee Common Council began a permanent improvement fund to finance capital outlays on a pay-as-you-go basis. It was understood that, as the tax levy for debt charges decreased annually, the tax levy for the permanent improvement fund would be correspondingly increased. "Using the tax levy for debt purposes for 1936 as a base, after allowing for a reduction of $2 in the tax rate, it was determined that the permanent improvement levy should be a flat $3,800,000 each year." This policy has been adhered to and, as of December 31, 1946, a total of $24,595,000 has been appropriated for specific projects.

A comprehensive revision of the city's budget law was enacted by the 1943 legislature. The permanent improvement fund was made permanent by a provision empowering the council to levy taxes for the fund and to allow these moneys to be accumulated from year to year.

Six-Year Improvement Plan

A special committee, known as the Long Term Improvement Program Technical Committee, was created in 1941 with instructions to prepare "an improvement program for the city of Milwaukee of six years or more, to be submitted to the Common Council." The first report was for the period of 1944 to 1949 inclusive. The plan has been advanced annually so that it continually provides for a future six-year tentative program. The members of the committee are the deputy comptroller, planning director, city attorney, and commissioner of public works as chairman.

The committee submits its recommendations annually to the Board of Estimates, itemizing the specific projects to be financed by the $3,800,000 permanent improvement fund appropriations.

The law provides that the city's bonded indebtedness cannot exceed 5 per cent of the assessed valuation. Twenty per cent of this limitation

is designated for school bonds, all of which must be approved by referendum.

A building construction tax not to exceed one mill a year, permissible for the succeeding five years, was approved at referendum in 1928 and in 1935. Then a permanent tax (not to exceed .6 mill) for school construction was enacted by the 1941 legislature.

Milwaukee began its policy of issuing no more bonds at the end of 1932. The city was experiencing a major tax strike and was in no position to increase taxes to finance permanent improvements on a pay-as-you-go basis. Consequently, the city's permanent improvement construction stopped abruptly—just as private construction stopped. During the war there could be no construction. Now the city must deal with a fifteen-year backlog of construction, maintenance and equipment projects demanding immediate attention.

Probably the combination of almost no permanent improvements for fifteen years, low interest rates on bond issues and the stirrings of postwar construction plans led to the decision to make the 1948 centennial of Wisconsin the goal for putting on a year-round celebration, with handsome new structures of a permanent character to be built. A war memorial was proposed to provide permanent cultural and artistic facilities.

Accordingly, a group of citizens was organized in 1944 as a Greater Milwaukee Committee to make the 1948 centennial the objective for accomplishment of a permanent public improvement program. In October 1945 this committee announced the creation of The 1948 Corporation. The newspaper headlines read: "City Leaders Launch Improvement Drive," "Group Plans Jolts for Debt Free Smugness Here." It was stated that, "Milwaukee has lost its 'drive,' that it is self-satisfied and complacent, that it has gotten off to a bad start in the race for postwar survival, both civic and industrial."

Plans for Centennial

The 1948 Corporation has a double-barrelled purpose: "To develop in Milwaukee County for 1948 a gigantic year-round celebration of the hundredth anniversary of Wisconsin and its great university; to inaugurate and accomplish a six-point program of civic betterment. The first aim is to be the incentive for the fulfillment of the second."

The six points in the program are: "A master metropolitan plan; an outdoor stadium; completion of the civic center including an indoor sports arena, a new museum, modernization of the library and parking areas; completion of the war memorial; north-south expressway from the major airport across Sixth Street; and a new and larger zoo."

The total program was to cost $31,000,000 (June 1946 estimates), two-thirds to be financed from Milwaukee city and county funds, one-fifth from private subscription for the war memorial, and the remainder from federal aid.

The Metropolitan Milwaukee War Memorial Inc. was organized in April 1945. A $5,000,000 building is

planned, to be financed from private contributions, to provide art, drama, music, public discussion and social assembly facilities in commemoration of the men and women who served the country in war. The Milwaukee County board is considering a request to provide a site estimated to cost $1,500,000, and to maintain and operate the building.

Master Plan Provided

Milwaukee has had many individual plans but prior to 1947 a master plan had never been prepared. For example:

Schools: There has been a continuing five-year building program since 1916.

Sewerage System: A development plan adopted in 1935 will take care of Milwaukee's needs to 1980.

Playgrounds: A program adopted in 1924 has been maintained.

Major Highway Widenings: The County Board of Supervisors adopted by ordinance a plan of major highway widths in 1926 which was subsequently ratified by each town board.

Common Council Long-Term Permanent Improvement Program: The six-year public works improvement program started in 1943 is extended annually.

Master Plan: Board of Public Land Commissioners, 1947.

The Board of Public Land Commissioners—the council's planning department—was created in 1915, the County Regional Planning Department in 1925. Their combined budgets approximate $200,000 for 1947 as compared with $89,000 for 1943. Their staffs now have a working arrangement to prepare their studies and plans "on a county-wide and cooperative basis."

As of January 1, 1947, Milwaukee city, county, schools and sewerage district have five permanent improvement programs which have received some form of official approval. The programs, based on June 1946 estimates, are as follows:

Common Council's Technical Committee	$117,000,000
Board of School Directors	8,000,000
Master plan of Board of Public Land Commissioners — largely public buildings and thoroughfares	72,000,000
County Board's Highway Committee Ten-Year Program — largely airports, parks and hospitals	49,000,000
Metropolitan Sewerage Commission	6,000,000
Total	252,000,000
Total *Unduplicated* Projects	$216,000,000

The State Highway Commission of Wisconsin and the U. S. Public Roads Administration submitted jointly an origin-destination traffic survey of the Milwaukee metropolitan area in December 1946. North-south and east-west expressways were recommended, estimated to cost $45,000,000, 28 per cent to be financed from local funds, 42 per cent from federal aid and 30 per cent from state aid. No official action has been taken thus far.

Milwaukee's debt margin for future bond issues is $43,000,000, as of January 1, 1947, for city and school purposes. The county board can issue $71,000,000 of bonds for general county purposes. Each bond issue must designate the project to be financed. Almost all city of Milwaukee bond issues must be

submitted to the electorate for approval. County bonds do not require a referendum.

The net appropriations made available during the five years from 1943 to 1947 inclusive, $28,000,000, together with the present pay-as-you-go policies, should make available in the next ten years for city-county-schools about $95,000,000 or half the $200,000,000 over-all permanent improvement program.

These figures include only the costs financed from general taxation, that is, exclusive of special assessments, public utility revenues (water sales), gifts, etc.

The 1948 Corporation and the press urged the submission to the electorate of the advisory referendum designed to modify the "no more bonds" policy of the city's council.

It is generally conceded that relatively the city of Milwaukee is operating on a shrinking tax base while that of the suburbs is expanding. The flight to the suburbs, temporarily halted by the war, promises to be accelerated as soon as residential construction becomes feasible. Public opinion is growing that all structures or services of county-wide benefit—such as the public museum, public library, stadium, war memorial—should be under the jurisdiction of the Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors. This is considered the most feasible means of simplifying government here and is especially effective because Milwaukee County is almost coterminous with the Milwaukee metropolitan area.

The county board has been maintaining a level amount of $4,000,000 for debt charges and pay-as-you-go capital improvement appropriations for a number of years. Five of the seven projects proposed by The 1948 Corporation will probably be financed by the county board, but since it has never taken the "no more bond issue" attitude, the advisory referendum on the policy of issuing bonds was directed at the Milwaukee Common Council.

Campaign Organized

An Improve Milwaukee Now Committee was organized to carry out a vote "yes" campaign. A Keep Milwaukee Debt-Free Committee was organized to get out a vote "no." The former spent $36,172 on the campaign, $15,000 of which was contributed by the 1948 Corporation; the latter, $146. The advisory referendum was approved by a 57 per cent majority.

Civic groups as well as proponents and opponents of the advisory referendum agree as to the need for coordinated planning and programming, which culminated in the adoption, two weeks before the referendum, of the following resolution by the Milwaukee Common Council: "Directing the city's long-term improvement program technical committee to make recommendations to the Common Council for revision of the present six-year capital improvement program, and for formulating a coordinated program, taking into consideration the various projects in the several programs and surveys now under consideration . . . listing the various improvements which should be made, setting forth

their desirable order of construction based upon total community needs, their individual estimated cost, their total estimated cost, the effect of the individual and the total costs upon total expenditures and tax rates, and the period of years in which they should be carried out."

Move for Cooperation

A joint city-county committee was officially appointed to devise and submit to the respective bodies appointing members "some machinery for effective cooperation between the municipal bodies legitimately interested in the planning, construction, financing, maintenance or use of public improvements" in which there is a mutual interest.

After the electorate had answered "yes" to the question: "Shall the city issue bonds for a program of public improvements?", attention immediately turned to the problem of determining the priority of projects under consideration.

There is general agreement that no projects should be undertaken which compete with housing construction or which involve the demolition of present housing facilities. With this understanding, the five official programs may be grouped, with 1946 estimates of cost, as follows:

Projects which help to make the construction of homes feasible—new sewers in outlying districts, neighborhood rehabilitation—about $12,000,000;

Projects needed to aid the sick, delinquent and homeless—detention home, hospitals, children's home, penal farm $7,500,000; (Two county projects now getting under way are estimated to cost nearly three times the estimate included in this figure.)

Neglected improvements requiring wasteful maintenance costs—replace bridges, sewers, schools and permanent street paving—$41,000,000;

Improve transportation facilities—thoroughfares, parking facilities, airports, bridges (where there are none now), grade separations, harbor—$95,500,000;

Improve protection to property—fire stations, street lighting, etc.—$6,500,000;

Improve recreation and informal educational facilities—sports arena, parks, branch libraries, parkways, zoo relocation, memorial center, playgrounds, stadium—$29,500,000.

Public buildings in civic center area—replace museum, remodel main library, sports arena, court house and city hall additions and remodelling, fire and school administration buildings, health center and water building—$13,500,000.

In determining the priority of projects, the financial policies as to pay-as-you-go, general bond issues and revenue bonds must be considered. For example, the Milwaukee Downtown Association has suggested that projects which pay for themselves out of revenue or which would be paid largely with state and federal government aids should be undertaken first.

Then, too, consideration must be given to projects which may help the Milwaukee metropolitan area compete with other large communities. Cultural and amusement facilities are rated as important factors by many Milwaukee citizens.

Regardless of which criteria are used to determine the order in which projects are to be constructed,

(Continued on Page 265)

Politicians Serve as Teachers

Connecticut civics faculties go back to classrooms where governor, legislators and other state officials preside.

By AILEEN ROBERTS*

TEACHERS as students! Politicians as teachers! Government taught by its makers and managers.

This unusual experiment in education was conducted for Connecticut's high school social studies teachers by the Institute of Public Service of the University of Connecticut during one fact-packed week last summer.

Connecticut's government officials that week stepped out from under the golden dome of the capitol, dropped their titles—governor, senator, representative, chief justice, commissioner—and assumed the role of "professor."

The teachers, eager to gain an understanding of a vital subject—one which, unfortunately, has been given scanty attention in our schools—were a model class. They listened attentively to their "professors," attended classes faithfully, raised their hands when they wished to ask a question.

It was an impressive and distinguished faculty that took the stand in front of the class that week. "Professor" Raymond E. Baldwin, better known as the governor of Connecticut, took an afternoon off from his official duties at the capitol in Hartford to drive 25 miles to the beautiful campus of the university to explain his multitudinous duties to the "students."

The governor obviously enjoyed his role of teacher for he talked most of the afternoon about his relations with department heads, the legislature, numerous commissions, the press and the general public. The governor's success as a professor caused some full-time pedagogues to consider taking up politics for self-improvement.

The intricacies of the General Assembly, Connecticut's legislative body, were unraveled by Speaker of the House E. Lea Marsh, Senator Nicholas Spellman and Representative Charles McKew Parr. Many "students" learned for the first time of the complicated process by whch a bill becomes law and of the many pitfalls that may beset it from the time it is drafted to the time the governor signs it.

Scheduled speakers and other "kibitzing" members of the state legislature found the course so interesting they stayed through several days of classes. The "needling" each speaker received from his legislative colleagues more often than not developed into lively informal panel discussions.

One member of the House of Representatives, endeared himself to the student-teachers by attending

*Miss Roberts is executive secretary of the Connecticut Merit System Association and editor of its publication, *The Merit Man.* During the 1947 session of the Connecticut legislature she acted as the association's legislative agent.

every class during the week, adding his two cents to many of the discussions, and then coming back at night for more questions and answers.

The "political" side of the legislature was not neglected as controversial questions in recent legislative sessions were brought into the open. Who should appoint the minor court judges? Should the governor's term be increased to four years? Should the term of commissioners and other department heads be coterminous with that of the governor? Should deputy commissioners come under the merit system? Logrolling, behind-the-scenes political maneuvering, government by "special interests," were brought into the teachers' back yards and laid on their laps.

Court System Explained

The day Connecticut's court system was explained, the class was faced with an array of judicial talent that would have made the guilty quake. Chief Justice William M. Maltbie of the Supreme Court of Errors assumed the role of discussion leader. His battery of assistants included a Superior Court judge, a judge of the Hartford District Probate Court, the presiding officer of the Connecticut Assembly of Trial Justices and a judge of the Juvenile Court.

Judge Maltbie pointed out that the judiciary is absolutely independent of the executive branch of the government but that its actions were controlled to some extent by the legislative branch in that the General Assembly holds the purse strings.

"There is very little relation between state and federal courts," stated Judge Maltbie, "for an appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court can be made only when the claim has been made under the federal constitution and has been denied."

Judge Howard Alcorn of the Superior Court explained that his was a trial court and included witnesses, exhibits, etc. "The Superior Court admits lawyers to the bar and can revoke their rights to practice. It adopts rules of practice under which lawyers operate in Connecticut and appoints the state's attorneys, public attorneys, coroners and court personnel," continued Judge Alcorn.

The class learned that the 118 probate judges who deal principally with the settlement of wills in Connecticut are elected by popular vote biennially. The probate court also has the power to commit inebriates, feeble-minded persons and epileptics to the proper state institutions.

"The oldest courts in Connecticut are the justice courts," Judge Philip Curtis told his class. "Their importance lies in the fact that all persons who commit crimes first have to appear before the justice court. Justices of the peace are also elected by the people."

Connecticut's Juvenile Court is one of social rather than criminal justice, students were informed. It has the right to handle all delinquents under sixteen but seldom has to decide whether the person

is guilty or not guilty. Many technicalities of court procedure are eliminated and the juvenile courts are accorded many privileges not given to regular courts. All neglected children must come before the court but the children do not get a court record.

State Finances Discussed

How does Connecticut raise and spend its $140,000,000 biennial budget and how is that budget determined? Commissioner of Finance and Control James B. Lowell and his staff explained this crucial subject to the class.

To administer Connecticut's $70,000,000 government, the department of finance and control was established through the 1937 reorganization plan. The department includes the budget, purchasing and personnel divisions. The office of farm coordinator was added to this department in 1945. The commissioner, appointed by the governor with the consent of the senate, is the governor's chief administrative officer whose job it is to see that appropriations are spent as effectively and as efficiently as possible.

"The budget," explained Budget Director Robert A. Weir, "is a definite financial plan covering a definite future and a definite plan of action." The governor is charged with the preparation and administration of the budget and it is Mr. Weir's division that does this for him.

Departmental budgets are prepared with the help of the budget division and by November 15 a tentative budget is submitted to the governor-elect who studies it and discusses with the budget division his recommendations for the General Assembly.

In explaining the workings of Connecticut's merit system to the class, Personnel Director Glendon A. Scoboria said that basically the examining procedure screens out the unfit and finds those who are best qualified.

Students learned not only about government from the practical standpoint that week but their understanding and appreciation of the theoretical side was increased by Carter W. Atkins, executive director, and Thomas H. Reed, municipal government counselor, of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council.

Dr. Reed prefaced the course by explaining the relationship between the executive, legislative and judicial branches; the advantages and disadvantages of their interlocking and dependence on each other.

Mr. Atkins concluded the course by describing our intergovernmental relations in regard to grants-in-aid —federal to state and state to local units. Objectives of grants-in-aid, Mr. Atkins said, include promotion of greater expenditures for services of general public welfare, establishment of universal minimums in expenditures of public service, and the securing of more effective authority for desired control by the central government.

Sparkplug of the teachers' educational program, which is believed to be the first of its kind in the country, is Dr. A. N. Jorgensen,

president of the University of Connecticut. He was instrumental in the establishment of the Institute of Public Service back in 1944. The course in the functions of state and local government was an outgrowth of the institute and was made possible through the cooperation of the school of education of the university and the Connecticut Social Studies Teachers Association.

"When I realized how little information was available to teachers about our government in Connecticut and how little our teachers knew about it, I was shocked and made up my mind to do something about it," remarked Dr. Jorgensen. "Our students will not be able to take a responsible and intelligent part in a society becoming more complicated by increasing governmental functions unless they acquire in school an appreciative understanding of their government. Why, I've even had parents ask me why their children didn't learn more about how and who operates our government in Connecticut," he recalled.

"This course is the first effort to acquaint our teachers of social studies with the actual operation and functions of our government so that they may help more fully towards molding the citizens of tomorrow. I believe that it will play a leading part in a growing movement towards increased public appreciation of, and participation in, our government," concluded Dr. Jorgensen.

From a career which has taken him through the gantlet of state government and the never-ending maze of national government, Joseph M. Loughlin, director of the institute since 1944, has gained a broad knowledge of how government actually operates—the people in it and the political forces behind it.

Educating the Official

Mr. Loughlin realized the incompetency of many of our public officials—their lack of training, education and comprehension of their particular job. He saw local finance officers, assessors, city clerks and others with little or no experience being elected to public office and attempting to fill the boots of the outgoing experienced incumbent.

He also realized that the average citizen who was becoming increasingly conscious of his government had little or no comprehension of its actual operation.

Mr. Loughlin not only saw these things but he thought he knew the answer to the dilemma. Compile and provide material written in nontechnical language on various functions of government for the education of the laymen; assemble teachers' aids and materials on our own local government that teachers could turn over to their students. Loughlin also discovered where the fault lay—that the teachers had no way of finding out about their town, city and state government. The week's course in government last summer was what is hoped will be the first of many vehicles which will carry this kind of knowledge.

The Institute of Public Service was established for the express purpose of "serving governmental personnel and employees in this

state and to assist the citizens of Connecticut to gain a better understanding of the workings of their government."

The first venture of the institute that year was to inaugurate a contest for modernizing municipal reports. Too many annual reports of cities and towns have been dull, lifeless accounts that few had the courage to open. In this contest Connecticut has joined a number of other states who have been encouraging better reporting as a prime means of informing citizens in the affairs of government and to heighten interest in local affairs.

That first year also saw a basic course for local assessors. To this course was added in 1945 an advanced assessors course, a tax collectors school and a school for town and city finance officers. The institute repeated the advanced assessors and the finance officers schools in 1946 as well as offering the government course.

Of the school, P. Roy Brammell, dean of the school of education at the university, said, "I see this institute of government helping to bridge the gap between academic acquaintance with social studies and the actual operation of our government. It will help to tie in more directly our education with the current happenings in our state."

The regularity with which the teachers attended classes, the voluminous notes they took, the strict attention they gave the lectures and the seriousness of their questions indicated how much they wanted and needed information on their own government. One teacher said she always tried to get to the source of a subject in her teaching. She felt that this course gave her the perfect opportunity to get to the source of the subject—the principal people of our local and state governments. She not only got to the personalities but she got to the functions of government as well.

A Successful Venture

The success of the course and the response of the teachers has caused much thought to be given to the possibility of a continuation of the course this summer. Consideration will probably be given to the important fields of education, public welfare and health.

The thoughts, knowledge and words unfolded during the five days of the course are resting in the notebooks and minds of the teachers. But better yet, every word of the lecturers, every question and answer, were recorded on a dictaphone. Director Loughlin has been editing the material and plans to put it in permanent form. This probably will be made available to all social studies teachers in Connecticut for use in what is hoped will be an expanded educational program—one that will be cognizant of the duty of our schools to prepare tomorrow's citizens — tomorrow's voters — tomorrow's politicians, legislators and governors.

New Frontier in City Finance

The state as the revenue-collecting area and the city as the spender seen as financial development of the future.

By HERBERT D. SIMPSON*

WE HAVE come to the close of one period of municipal finance—a period during which municipal governments and finance have been under the impact of two succeeding catastrophes, the depression and the second world war. If we attempt to appraise, even in the most tentative way, the net results of the whole period in the field of government finance, we are confronted with a striking picture.

Our national government has accumulated a debt of around $260,000,000,000. But our credit is still the best in the world, partly because of our enormous productive capacity and partly because of the development of a revenue system capable of producing a volume of revenue that would previously have been believed impossible. The national government has also assumed a variety of new responsibilities and activities, some of them the result of depression, some the result of war, and some the result of changing theories with regard to the sphere of the national government. But the depression and the war are behind us and, unless we are facing a third world war, we may hope that the federal government will soon be in position to reduce rapidly its demands.

The state governments likewise assumed new responsibilities in connection with both the depression and the war and were obliged to defer considerable amounts of needed expenditure. But the states had developed the gasoline tax in the 20's and the sales tax in the 30's, which together have proved to be the nearest thing to a "depression proof" revenue system yet developed. In the acute depression year of 1938, the Department of Commerce estimated that retail sales were only 20 per cent less than in 1929, and gasoline consumption 42 per cent larger than in 1929.

Municipal and local governments, after a brief fling of prodigality in the 20's, have been subsisting on the "husks" for nearly two decades since. In that period, nevertheless, they have met the special obligations imposed by the depression and the war, have reduced their indebtedness, and have maintained essential services with little impairment.

But, in the years of peace and prosperity which we hope are ahead, municipal and local governments will again be called upon to assume perhaps a major portion of essential governmental services. It is in this area, therefore, that we will confront the most pressing and most important problems of government finance in the future.

*Dr. Simpson was formerly professor of public finance at Northwestern University and a member of the university's Institute for Economic Research. He is author of a number of volumes on taxation and economics, and has served extensively as consultant to governmental and private groups.

Uncertain as the future of everything is at the moment, it would seem that in the municipal field we may assume one thing with considerable confidence, that is, that American municipalities are upon the threshold of a period of dynamic activity and expansion. Just what the particular features and characteristics of this period may prove to be no one can say; but certain broad contours are outlined against the horizon with sufficient clearness to make it possible to map their topography for a little way.

Increased Population Seen

In the first place, it is apparent that we are facing a continued growth of urban population. This does not necessarily mean continued population growth in our metropolitan centers or an increase in the size of our present large cities. It may take the form of an increase in the size and number of smaller urban communities.

Over the immediate future it appears reasonably certain that most of the cities in the south, middle west and west will have a continued increase of population because of industrial development, the relatively high birth rates prevailing in those regions since 1940, and a resumption of the "drift" to the city when the expanding production of American agriculture enforces some reduction of rural population. But over the longer future as well it would appear that our increasing industrialization, brought about by the spectacular discoveries and inventions of recent years and the trade and financial position the United States is destined to occupy, must mean that an increasing proportion of our population will cluster in communities, large or small, with urban facilities and urban characteristics, whatever the census definition of "urban" may happen to be at any particular time.

In short, the United States is becoming a city nation. Sixty-two per cent of our population is now urban, and if we add the population of incorporated places of 1000 to 2500 excluded by the census definition we find that two-thirds of our population are living in urban communities. We are rapidly becoming a nation dominated by urban population, urban activities, and urban points of view.

This period may be characterized by some geographical expansion of the areas of metropolitan cities through annexation, consolidation and the evolution of county and regional cities. But this, we are inclined to think, is doubtful and in any case will be a slow evolution. This may possibly be still another epoch for someone to write about half a century from now.

The visible future is more likely to be characterized by internal, qualitative and intensive development. What will be the content of this development?

It is safe to say that urban development will be characterized, to a greater degree than ever before, by conscious planning on the part of both governmental and private agencies. By and large, it may be assumed that the days of hodge-podge city growth are behind us.

Some of the planning may not be much better, but at least it will be planned hodge-podge.

Urban transportation systems will be revolutionized. This will embrace railway terminals, subways and rapid transit systems, motor ways and motor parking, and air transport, and will involve an enormous amount of construction. Educational systems will be greatly expanded and, perhaps, improved. More liberal provision will be made for so-called higher levels of education and for trade, vocational, technical and adult education. Housing, through public agencies and various forms of incentive offered to private agencies, will be a field of considerable municipal concern and municipal activity. More liberal provision will be made for health and recreational facilities.

In short, the American people want to be housed, educated and amused, and transported back and forth between times. And with their characteristic Yankee capacity for contriving some way to get what they want, it may be assumed that the city populations of the future will secure these amenities.

Will the municipalities be in position to finance this promised development? At the moment their outlook is auspicious. Their debt and interest charges have been reduced, and many of them have accumulated "postwar reserves." Municipal credit has been re-established—so completely that within less than ten years from the enactment of the municipal bankruptcy statute and the widespread conditions of insolvency that accompanied it, municipal securities have commanded the lowest interest rates in their history. By every criterion of judgment it would seem that at the present moment municipal governments are in better financial position than they have been for many years.

Construction Needs

It is true that at the moment they are also confronted by some unusual obligations in the form of accumulated construction needs and other capital outlay requirements deferred from the war period. There have been some startling estimates of the aggregate of these needs, the basis of which we have not been able to ascertain. Perhaps some approach to a quantitative estimate may be made by comparing the actual capital outlay during the war period with what that outlay would have been if continued at the prewar level.

Capital outlay for cities of 100,000 population and over in 1941 was $191,228,000. The year 1941 is taken for a starting point because it was the last prewar year, it was a fairly prosperous year, and because the census figures for years prior to 1941 are not comparable with subsequent years.

Capital outlay for the next four years was as follows:

1942	$127,273,000
1943	74,994,000
1944	64,081,000
1945	71,548,000

If we assume that capital outlay for 1946 (figures for which are not

now available) was continued at the same low level as 1945 and add the five yearly totals, we arrive at a total of $409,444,000.

But if capital outlay throughout that five-year period had been maintained at the 1941 level, the aggregate would have been $956,140,000. The difference between the two totals is $546,696,000, which may be taken as roughly approximating the "deferred" capital outlay for that period.

This is no small sum, even in these days of federal budgets. But the total expenditure of this group of cities for 1945 was $2,106,314,000; so that the deferred capital outlay, on the basis of the calculation above, would be only 26 per cent of one year's expenditures. This would mean that an increase of 9 per cent in annual expenditures would replace the entire amount of deferred outlay within three years. This group of cities is only one segment of the local government picture. But if the relationship of capital outlay and expenditures for the other units of government is at all similar, it is apparent that the amount of deferred capital requirements is not nearly as large as has been supposed.

The truth appears to be that "deferred" in current discussion has come to include a lot of public improvements that have been vaguely contemplated but were not specifically postponed by the war. It is something like the questionnaires put out by manufacturing companies at the close of the war, designed to ascertain the volume of accumulated consumer demand. The replies indicated that consumers had "accumulated" a demand for indefinite quantities of everything.

On the basis of the analysis above we may assume with some assurance that the municipalities will be able to take care of their deferred capital requirements without any serious strain upon their normal course of expenditures.

From the longer point of view, it is apparent that municipal governments will have increased revenue assets in the form of enhanced property values and of large volumes of new construction for some time to come. This, of course, implies an increase in assessed valuations, which almost certainly will have to come. Local governments cannot be expected to assume the burden of inflated costs and at the same time refrain from capitalizing on their inflated assets. If we are to have inflation, we will have to put up with it on both sides of the account.

Some new sources of municipal revenue are being developed, such as the municipal sales taxes and the municipal income taxes of Philadelphia, St. Louis,[1] and Toledo. But the most hopeful promise for municipal revenues lies in the trend toward larger allocations from state taxes and state general funds. If the comprehensive action taken by New York State in the past year becomes a model for action by other states, it may prove little short of a revolution in local government finance.[2]

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[1]Recently held unconstitutional by Circuit Court.

[2]In general the New York plan, adopted in 1946, replaces the system of "shared

Here we are confronted with more than a matter of revenue. We are confronted with the whole problem of the impact of urbanization upon our structure of state and local government. We are approaching a new frontier in municipal finance.

In earlier times the municipality or local government was essentially the *unit* of government in the United States. Writers on American government, especially European writers, never tired of stressing the dominance of *local* government in the United States. The local government levied the taxes, collected the revenue and spent the money. The spending area and the revenue area were coterminous, which, incidentally, was a healthy situation. The same government did the taxing and the spending and was under the scrutiny of citizens and taxpayers both "fore and aft."

With the progress of industrialization and urbanization—they are the same things—most of the essential functions of government, and in particular most of the intimate functions and those that affect the immediate daily life of the citizen, are still performed by municipal and local governments. Under our concept of self-government and our constitutional structure of government this is almost inevitable. We can scarcely conceive of an army of state police coming in and displacing our local policemen. At the same time the revenue area, by every definition of adequacy and equitableness in taxation, has expanded far beyond any municipal boundaries. The two are no longer coterminous — industrialization has "split" the atom, and we are confronted by the results.

State-Local Relations

We may either transfer the bulk of governmental functions to the "revenue area," which means the state, or devise some mechanism for bringing the revenue area to local governments. Mahomet must go to the mountain, or the mountain must come to Mahomet. We have apparently decided to bring the mountain to Mahomet.

This means that the state will more and more become the revenue area for the support of governmental activities, and the state government will necessarily become the agency for collecting and dis-

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taxes" with a system of lump sum appropriations for local assistance. In order to maintain this assistance at a stable level, the state budget has been separated into two "budgets," one for state purposes and one for local assistance, and a reserve fund has been established to support each budget. For the fiscal year ending March 31, 1947, the legislature appropriated $307,000,000 for local assistance, which was $55,400,000 more than the entire amount appropriated for state purposes. The state has allocated 55 per cent of its revenues for the current fiscal year to support the local assistance budget and its reserve fund. The local assistance is allocated on a straight per capita basis: $6.75 for cities, $3.55 for towns, and $3.00 for villages.

In addition, the state continues to share the proceeds of the gasoline and motor vehicle taxes; reimburses local governments to the amount of 80 per cent of their expenditures for welfare services (home relief, old age assistance, aid to dependent children and aid to the blind); and compensates the local governments for the full cost of removing snow from state highways.

tributing this revenue. We conceive that in this process the state will broaden its own administrative activities and will certainly develop further its supervisory and directing responsibilities. It may, to a minor degree, assimilate some municipal activities.

But in the main it will become a kind of top holding company, a central budgeting agency, through which the city dwellers of the state will levy taxes, collect revenues, and apportion them back to their own municipal and local governments for the actual performance of governmental functions. This may seem to imply that the states will become largely revenue-collecting machines for local governments—and to tell the truth, it is difficult to see how the process is going to stop very far short of that result.

I say this without enthusiasm and with some reluctance; in fact, like the proverbial Irishman, I am "opposed" to it. But I am unable to interpret the trend of events differently.

And this may not be as bad as it sounds. After all, it is only adjusting our governmental to our economic structure. It may prove to be the means for preserving the integrity of both state and local governments; and, since both have been gravely menaced in recent years, that will indeed be something.

No Need for Alarm

In this somewhat circuitous way we reach the conclusion that the urban development of the future, however spectacular it may be, will not suffer from lack of resources to finance it. It may suffer from lack of foresight, from conflicting pressures and from unwise extravagances. But if we can discover the wisdom and practical "gumption" to direct it, it will not be difficult to discover the resources to finance it.

It is true that at meetings of city officials and municipal groups during the past year a great deal has been said about the financial straits of city governments. But it must be remembered that to a considerable degree this is only normal trade association activity. City officials are the public representatives of their municipal constituencies and it is a part of their official duty to view the future with alarm.

It may be that there are grounds for apprehension outside the scope of this brief survey. But it will be a strange thing if the technological progress of recent years, the record volumes of production and the rising national income should all have the effect of making people unable to afford the protection, education and other services of city government. A reasonable assumption would be that rising incomes and standards of living will bring with them increased ability to command the amenities of local government; and it will be surprising indeed if the course of events over the next decades does not demonstrate the soundness of that assumption.

The State of the States - 1947

Governors show tendency to pitch messages on high plane, wrestle sincerely with multiplicity of urgent problems.

By GEORGE W. PEAK*

IN JANUARY 1947, the governors of 43 states delivered messages to their respective state legislatures. Taken together, these messages represent a cross-section of state government affairs and a prognostication of things to come.

Education

Teachers. Twenty-six governors commented on the teacher pay situation and recommended action for pay increases. Two governors suggested establishment of scholarships for prospective teachers as a means of drawing promising youngsters into the profession. In four states recommendations were made to establish teacher retirement funds or to place existing funds on sound bases.

School Districts. In nineteen messages attention was called to the need for equalizing educational opportunities in the distribution of state school funds. In most cases this meant (1) larger distributions and (2) changed methods of distribution. Nine governors pointed to the need for reorganization and consolidation in the school district organization system.

School Surveys. In eight states studies of special commissions were commended to the legislatures' consideration with varying degrees of blessings. Another governor recommended that a special study of the state school system be made, and the administration of the schools in the nation's second largest city would be the subject of a special inquiry if the recommendations of another governor were taken.

Health and Welfare

Health. About a dozen governors took note of the possibility of securing federal aid for surveys of hospital needs and for new public hospital construction. Discussed also were the need for additional facilities for tuberculosis patients and for local health departments or centers.

Welfare. Increases in categorical relief grants were recommended in ten states. Two governors, however, spoke on the need for balancing increases for old-age assistance with the drain on the taxpayers. A few recommended direct relief increases.

One suggestion was that homes of old-age assistance clients, not exceeding $5,000 in value, be exempted from property taxes. Two governors thought the aged in county infirmaries should receive grants under the old-age assistance program and intimated that Congress should make it possible. One governor suggested that poor farms be eliminated; another that relatives should be

*Mr. Peak is a staff member of Griffenhagen & Associates, consultants in public administration and finance. He served for several years as local finance assistant in the Kentucky Department of Revenue and for a short time as chief administrator of the Colorado Department of Revenue.

responsible for the care of their poor. Still another thought it worthwhile to study the possibilities of caring for the aged in institutions rather than by grants.

Juvenile delinquency prevention received a goodly share of attention. In two states the need for enacting juvenile codes was pointed out. Reports of special commissions were referred to by three governors and another recommended that a special commission be appointed to study the subject.

Highways

A majority of the messages contained some reference to highway construction and maintenance. One governor announced his intention of calling a special session to deal with the highway problem. Seven governors made recommendations with respect to dirt roads, farm-to-market roads, or secondary roads. One suggested that local governments pool their road-building resources in a state-administered program. In two cases appointment of special commissions to study long-range highway programs was urged.

On highway financing three governors recommended increases in gasoline taxes. Two others suggested increases in registration fees. Two made specific recommendations for bond issues. Five governors called attention to the need for more revenue to match federal funds. It was suggested in another case that the legislature should budget and control highway funds. One message suggested that local governments needed more money for roads, another that the town aid system be reconsidered, and another that highway aid to municipalities be abandoned.

Veterans' Affairs

In only eleven of the 43 states did messages fail to give much attention to veterans' affairs.

Five governors recommended bonuses and two others recommended consideration of bonuses. Two messages urged that immediate provision be made for the administration of bonuses already adopted. A loan fund proposal was put forward in one state and suggestions as to loan funds already in existence were made in two others. Various suggestions on tax exemptions were made, one to the effect that the state pay local property taxes on property rented by veterans. Two governors recommended that veterans be given preference in state employment.

In several cases, the strengthening of state agencies dealing with veterans' affairs was recommended. In two cases, the creation of such agencies was urged, and in one case it was stated that a reorganization would be in order.

Housing

The housing problem was mentioned in only thirteen messages. One stated that housing was the most critical state problem. In a few instances concrete proposals were made to alleviate the critical shortage. None of the suggestions for action was designed to cut any real chunk in the shortage problem.

Three governors recommended reappraisal of building codes and one suggested that the conduct of research into lower building costs be

encouraged. In four states the governors brought the need for slum clearance and the elimination of blighted areas to the attention of their legislatures. Five governors recommended enactment of rent control laws to become operative when, as and if federal rent controls are lifted; one recommended the extention of such a law.

Conservation and Recreation

Conservation and development of natural resources were discussed in a number of instances. In five cases legislatures were urged to make provision for the rehabilitation of forest lands and in two it was recommended that forest taxation systems in effect be changed to a severance basis.

Development of the Missouri River Valley was discussed in two messages and of hydro-electric power in four. Six governors urged extension of rural electrification. Recommendations of a special commission on flood-control problems were referred to the legislature in one case and two governors called special attention to flood-control needs.

As to recreation needs, five governors urged further development of state park systems; one suggested a special study of state park needs.

Labor Relations

Union Regulation. Three governors recommended legislation to outlaw strikes against the state or its political subdivisions. Two urged enactment of laws to prevent strikes affecting the lives, health or safety of the public, one suggesting a specific measure to apply in labor disputes involving public utilities. One governor thought workers should be protected against discharge if expelled, or if they resign, from a particular union. The open door for union membership should be enforced, according to one governor, in all cases of closed shop agreements. Provisions for an effective means of interpreting and enforcing collective bargaining agreements, and for the settlement of disputes under such agreements, were also suggested. Another governor held that unions should be made legally responsible for their acts, and another suggested that restraint-of-trade laws should be examined with particular reference to labor unions.

Settlement of Disputes. Three governors recommended expansion of mediation programs and two recommended expansion of the conciliation programs. A complete state labor relations act was outlined in one message and another commended to the legislature consideration of the labor department's proposals to remedy defects in present laws. Cooling-off periods were suggested in another message.

One governor announced his appointment of an advisory commission to study the problems of industrial understanding. Another thought that a series of labor-management conferences should be instituted. A fact-finding agency was suggested by another. Still another governor thought that provision should be made for research in labor problems.

Labor Protection, Labor Benefits.

Prohibition of child labor in industrial agriculture was recommended in one case; in another, the enactment of an adequate child labor law was thought desirable; and in another adequate laws as to child and woman labor were thought needed. Fair employment practices acts were recommended in five states and a commission to study the problem was suggested in another. Enactment of minimum wage laws was recommended in two states and readjustment of the minimum wage law, as pertaining to women and minors, was recommended in one. Accident prevention programs, one with respect to mine inspection, were urged in two states.

Increased workmen's compensation benefits were recommended in nine states and increased unemployment compensation benefits in five states.

State Labor Agencies. The bringing together of all state activities on labor in a central labor agency was recommended in four cases. Increased appropriations for the state labor agencies were emphasized in three instances.

Business Regulation

Liquor Control. Liquor control came in for only a small share of attention. One governor recommended that a proposal for repeal of state prohibition be submitted to the voters. Another recommended that provision be made for local option and that measures be passed to reduce liquor consumption. Two governors suggested increases in license fees. One proposal was made to investigate the expenditures of liquor dealers to influence elections. In two monopoly states investigation of the operations of the state liquor board was suggested. Creation of an alcoholic beverage control board and removal of the regulatory function from the state tax commission were suggested by another governor.

Aviation. Many messages referred to aviation. Fourteen suggestions related to municipal airport construction. In six of these it was recommended that federal aid for for airport construction be channeled through the state, as permitted by the federal aid law. One governor recommended that cities be allowed to issue airport construction bonds and another that localities be allowed to form airport districts and to levy property taxes airport construction be channeled the legislature was asked to permit border cities to erect airports in neighboring states.

Two governors suggested consideration of aviation gasoline taxes and another asked that a special commission be created to meet with similar commissions in other states to develop a uniform aviation tax program. One governor suggested that the uniform aviation bill prepared by the Council of State Governments be passed.

Creation of a state aviation commission was recommended by one governor who pointed out that 43 states now have such agencies. Another governor wanted the establishment of an aviation section in the state industrial development commission. Creation of an airport development board was suggested in

another message and one governor asked that a separate division for the purpose be set up in the state department of public works. Attention of the legislature was directed to the recommendations of a special commission on aviation in one other instance.

General Business Development. Eleven governors made references to the encouragement and development of industry. In seven cases it was suggested that efforts be made to attract industries to process raw materials produced in the respective states. Five governors thought that special agencies to further economic development would be a good idea and five also suggested that more publicity was needed to attract business to their states. Development of tourist trade was deemed desirable in three cases.

Administration, Organization

Planning. The subject of planning received little attention. One governor disliked the word so suggested that the state planning commission be abolished and replaced with an agency having similar functions but a different name. On the other hand, one governor suggested that a new planning act was needed and that the planning agency should be a part of the governor's office. Another thought the planning work of the state economic council (in the governor's office) should be continued and in one state it was suggested that the services of the state planning board be extended and used more freely. In a fifth instance it was suggested that the state planning board be empowered to coordinate all departmental planning.

Organization. Several governors made particular references to general organization problems. Three stated that there should be some revamping of various state agencies but were not specific. Another suggested creation of a special commission to study possible duplication and overlapping. Another stated he would make an exploration himself along similar lines. One governor recommended again the adoption of a reorganization plan submitted to the previous legislature.

Legislative veto on reorganization plans put into effect by the governor was brought up for consideration in two states. And executive veto of individual items in an appropriation bill was suggested in another.

Lack of responsibility of boards and commissions was pointed out by one governor who suggested that appointments of their chief administrative officers be subject to the governor's approval.

Two messages recommended four-year terms for governors and one recommended four-year terms for other important state and local officers. One chief executive thought a governor should not be allowed to succeed himself and another thought that a governor should be limited to two consecutive terms in office. The desirability of electing the governor in a non-presidential year was pointed out in another instance.

One governor recommended that certain wartime agencies be abolished

and another that the governor's emergency powers be terminated.

Two governors pointed to the need for legislative reorganization. Creation of a legislative research council was suggested in one state, as was creation of the office of director of legislative research in another. Redrawing of judicial districts to redistribute the work load was suggested by one governor.

Personnel. Salaries received more attention than any other personnel problem. In fourteen states governors recommended pay increases for state employees. Another recommended that the bonus in effect be continued. Seven governors, however, stated expressly or implied that employee pay was about right, but five recommended that statutory salaries of certain officials be increased. Three governors thought pay of legislators was too small and one pointed out that the governor's pay was smaller than that of eighteen other state officials.

One governor recommended that provision be made for installing a position classification plan and another pointed to the need for continuing the review of the classification plan in effect.

Adoption of a merit system was recommended in one state and reorganization of the civil service commission in another. One governor recommended that civil service examinations be resumed.

Taxation and Finance

Although many governors sent separate budget messages to the legislatures (not covered here), most of them made reference in their regular messages to state finances. In thirteen states governors pointed to strong financial conditions, but in two of these states needs for new revenues were also pointed out. In seven states the financial situation was said to be rather desperate with new revenues required. In two states bond issues were recommended.

In seven states governors warned against dissipation of surpluses and in three need for the husbanding of postwar improvement funds was stressed.

One governor asked for the creation of an advisory commission to help find ways to economy in administration. The needs for new systems of financial administration were stressed in six states and the creation of a central purchasing agency was recommended in one.

One governor suggested that the time had come when the state should refrain from adding new services to the present list.

Tax matters came in for spotty consideration, some governors reserving the topic for treatment in budget messages.

Eight governors recommended that provision be made for special studies of tax problems. Five others referred to special studies just completed. Six governors pointed to the deplorable state of affairs in connection with property tax administration and another asked that provision be made for a complete reappraisement of property in the state.

Several suggestions were made for decreasing certain taxes—inheritance, unemployment compen-

sation, state property, corporation license, income and poll taxes. One governor was against both income and sales taxes, and two others were against any tax increases. Still two others thought that any new tax increases should be submitted to referendum.

On the other hand, tax increases were recommended in several cases. Proposals for gasoline tax increases have already been mentioned. Other taxes for which increases or enactments were recommended include: severance taxes, slot machine licenses, luxury taxes, state property taxes, corporation franchise taxes, unincorporated business taxes, gasoline taxes on interstate truckers and sales taxes.

An integrated revenue department was suggested for one state and central administration and collection of inheritance taxes were recommended in another. Increased revenue department personnel was a need in one state and a department of tax research in the executive office of the governor was needed in another. One governor wanted to give the state board of equalization power to change the sales tax rate, as the needs dictated, within a maximum rate set by law.

Elections

Five governors pointed to the need for modernizing, strengthening and simplifying election laws. Four suggested that new registration laws were needed. One asked for a primary election law and another asked that conventions be made more representative of the people.

Five governors urged the legislatures to redistrict the states as required by state constitutions but not actually done.

Two governors, one southern and one northern, asked that poll taxes be removed as voting prerequisites.

One governor asked that secret-type ballots be provided for use in general elections and another suggested that cities and counties be allowed to purchase and use voting machines. Two governors urged provision for absentee voting.

State-Local Relations

Two governors recommended special studies of county government and two others pointed to the need for studying state-local fiscal relationships. Six governors thought that localities should be placed on a self-sustaining basis financially while others thought there should be more state aid. Many general references were made to the fiscal plight of local governments; only one optimistic note was sounded.

Two governors recommended that action be taken on special studies, one relating to rural planning and zoning and the other to county jails. Another governor recommended abolishment of the fee system for feeding prisoners in county jails.

In Conclusion

On the whole, the tone of the messages was pitched on a high plane and the desire to be of real service was evident. In no instance was it apparent that the problems of the state were treated lightly or without sincerity. Almost without exception the responsibilities of his high office seemed to be impressed upon the deliverer of the message.

Letters to the Editor

Why Things Changed

To the Editor
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

May I be allowed a comment on Norman Chester's interesting article, "Britain Broadens Franchise"? He says that opposition to the second vote of university graduates is small "because, by and large, the university constituencies had returned a number of distinguished independents to the House of Commons, who had made important contributions to the discussion of national policy and who might not otherwise have stood for election or have been elected."

That is true, but it has been true only since 1918, when the universities which return more than one member began to elect them by proportional representation. Before 1918 Oxford University, for example, always returned two Conservatives, and only once since 1884 had the election even been contested! Since 1918 only one election has *not* been contested, and Oxford is now represented by two noted independents.

ENID LAKEMAN, *Research Secretary*
Proportional Representation Society
London

Regrettable All Around

To the Editor
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

In reply to your letter concerning my membership, I'd like to say that from what I've read during the months I received the REVIEW I have gathered that I was just throwing away the $5 I had in it as a member. Most of the articles except those on the council-manager plan led me to believe that your experts, if asked an opinion on how our town is being run, would heartily endorse the antics of our city officials in spite of the fact that the cost of running the city of Rome is and has been rising by leaps and bounds.

To begin with, I think you approve of these "conferences" such as mayors and city clerks and so on which take our elected help off periodically to a distant city to listen to lectures, etc; also of the highly specialized "schools," so called, to which many of our appointed help are sent, to "learn the ropes" as it were. Frankly I do not. I believe in shopping around and hiring someone who has become expert in his particular line before he or she goes on the city payroll.

Again, I think you approve of long terms for such jobs as mayor. Too bad to throw a guy out after say two years just when he has become accustomed to the job. Again, I think it wrong to hire anyone as mayor till he has learned to do the job.

Also I think you approve of the system of putting all the tax money in one big hopper without earmarking any funds for this or that purpose and no other. I do not; for every proposed expenditure there should be a revenue collected from the groups to be benefited. Otherwise it will be the wheel that squeaks that gets greased, and many services will suffer because the pressure group with the greatest vote will drain the tank first. Very much like a crooked pinball machine is fixed to draw two, three or four nickles out of every five into the detour, there never is a real jack-pot.

So in view of the fact that the point of view of your editors, contributors, etc., and myself are so obviously far apart I regret that I must discontinue my membership. I hardly think, however, that your League will suffer any damage by my backing out.

THOMAS A. LANIGAN
Rome, New York

Dear Mr. Lanigan:

It is seldom we receive such a frank and forthright letter. It is genuinely appreciated, for we naturally like to know why some people occasionally drop their memberships in the National Municipal League.

No, we wouldn't necessarily approve of the way your city is being run. Indeed, when our Consultant Service made a survey of Rome's government in 1942 we recommended many improvements which, so far as we know, have not yet been made.

But you are right in believing we approve of city officials going to professional meetings to keep abreast of modern methods. While we don't necessarily believe that elected mayors should have long terms without having to present themselves to the voters for approval, we believe qualified technicians and administrators (who should be appointed, not elected) should not be kicked out for political reasons. You can't, of course, insist that a mayor be qualified; as long as you try to get a chief administrator by electing him, it's simply a popularity contest.

And you are right that we don't approve of earmaking revenues, nor do we approve of putting public affairs in any other kind of strait-jacket, thus weakening self-government.

We don't expect all our members to agree fully with us. The League tries to reflect the "best thought" in civic affairs and to recommend high standards which have been proved sound by ample experience. We find it a satisfying and stimulating experience to keep on learning from day to day of new progress in communities, large and small. If you are satisfied that your theories of government are and always will be exactly right, of course you will find the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW irritating and we'll have to get along, regretfully, without you. But in feeling sorry to lose you we aren't just thinking of the possible damage to the League.

THE EDITOR

DEBT FREE IDEA LOSES

(Continued from Page 245)

decisions as to the governmental unit which is to have jurisdiction over them are of utmost importance. The construction of new facilities, or the replacement of present facilities now unfairly maintained by the city of Milwaukee alone, presents an opportunity to correct present jurisdictional inequities. This community is coming to the conclusion that if a project benefits the residents of the entire county it should be constructed and operated by the Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors. Thus the city is relieved of one-third of the initial cost as well as one-third of maintenance and operation costs.

The many demands upon the community's public resources will require careful sifting of all needs—present and future. Milwaukee is levying a 4 per cent real estate tax. Legislation is pending to raise the present tax ceilings of the Board of School Directors, the Board of Vocational and Adult Education and the pension systems. Salaries and wages of Milwaukee's five units of government are automatically geared to the inflation kite via the consumers' price index. The desirable expenditure ratio as to salary-wages, permanent improvements and equipment-supplies—of 50 per cent, 25 per cent and 25 per cent respectively—are unbalanced in the 1947 budgets.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Twenty-one More Manager Adoptions

Movement Continues Rapid Spread Throughout Country

THE city of **Hannibal, Missouri,** (population 20,865) voted approval of the council-manager plan, 2,523 to 1,709, on March 31. The plan carried in each of the six wards. Another proposal, to elect a 13-member commission to study charter revision, was considered as an alternative and was voted down. Hannibal has had a mayor-aldermanic form of government. Petitions for change were circulated by a citizens committee and filed with the city clerk on January 29. The *Courier-Post* gave active support.

In **Ashland, Wisconsin,** (population 11,101) the council-manager plan was adopted at the April 1 election by a vote of 1,531 to 1,221. It obtained majorities in seven of the city's ten wards. A citizens' committee of nine, chosen at a public meeting on February 5, circulated petitions and conducted an educational campaign. The *Daily Press*, whose managing editor was a committee member, aided with publicity. The proposal calls for a council elected at large for a term of two years.

New Bern, North Carolina, (11,815 population) on March 6 adopted the council-manager plan, effective July 1, 1947, and the council is considering candidates for the position of manager. The vote was 1,225 to 716.

On April 1 **South Norfolk, Virginia,** (population 8,038) voted 669 to 501 in favor of the council-manager plan. A council of five is to be elected June 10, to take office September 1.

Montpelier (population 8,006), capital city of **Vermont,** has decided to employ a city manager.

Voters of **Bonham, Texas,** (population 6,349) adopted the council-manager plan, 621 to 84, at a special election on March 11.

In **Oak Hill, West Virginia,** (population about 4,500) a council-manager charter was adopted on February 18, to take effect July 1, 1947.

Sylvan Lake, Michigan, (population 1,041) voted 215 to 38 for the council-manager plan on February 26.

The manager plan has gone into effect in **Sulphur Springs, Texas,** (population 6,742). On April 1 the newly elected city commission took office and appointed as city manager J. E. Tackett of Graham, Texas.

Hayward, California, (population 6,736) voted 711 to 576 in favor of a manager ordinance on April 22.

Woodland, California, (population 6,637) adopted the manager plan on April 9 by a vote of 971 to 246.

The city council of **Chariton, Iowa,** (population 4,905) adopted a manager ordinance in April and is seeking a competent manager.

By a vote of 875 to 486 on April 1 the citizens of **Russell, Kansas,** (population 4,819) adopted the manager plan as provided in state law. The plan takes effect in April 1948 with the election of three commissioners to replace the present council of nine.

In **Allegan, Michigan,** (population 4,526) a council-manager charter was adopted at an election on April 7. A similar charter was defeated in 1939. The present city council is required to appoint a manager within 90 days. A new council will be elected in 1948.

The city council of **Coquille, Oregon,** (population 3,327) which was authorized some years ago to appoint a city manager, has finally done so.

In **Maine** the towns of **Madison** (3,836), **Monmouth** (1,500) and **Monson**

(977) adopted the provisions of the state's optional town manager act at recent town meetings.

Brandon, Vermont, (population 2,977) has recently adopted the manager plan.

Stigler, Oklahoma, (1,861) adopted a council-manager charter by a vote of 257 to 83 on April 8.

Otterville, Missouri, (population 430) adopted council-manager government by a vote of 82 to 17 on March 18.

The town of **Milford, Connecticut,** which has been under the representative town meeting form of government, voted 2,679 to 2,439 on April 3 in favor of council-manager government. A bill had been previously introduced in the legislature to authorize the council-manager plan for Milford. According to proposed amendments to this bill the plan would include a council of thirteen, two from each of five existing election districts, and three elected at large.

The **Connecticut** legislature has approved new charters providing the council-manager plan for **Manchester** and **Windsor.** When signed by the governor both charters must be submitted to the local electorate for adoption. Still before the legislature (see also Milford above) is a proposed manager charter for **Farmington.**

The **Maine** legislature on March 25 approved council-manager government for **Bath,** subject to a local referendum in September. Since 1847 Bath has been under a governmental plan comprising a mayor, a board of seven aldermen and a common council of 21. The proposal is for a single council of fourteen, with two members from each of the seven wards. The plan was recommended last year by a citizens' committee.

In a report to the **Massachusetts** legislature submitted on April 1 a majority of the special nine-member commission that has been studying the **Boston** city charter recommended postponing any local referendum on the manager plan for a year, after which such a referendum could be held if petitioned for by 10 per cent of the city's registered voters. Meanwhile the commission recommended a referendum on May 27 on two methods of electing a city council of nine to supersede the present council of 22 members, chosen by wards. The alternative methods proposed are by proportional representation or by limited voting (each voter being limited to voting for five council candidates). A poll conducted by the *Boston Globe* resulted in 45 per cent favoring a manager plan, 24 per cent against, and 31 per cent undecided. The board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce favors the manager plan with P. R. The movement for a change is accentuated by the recent indictment of the president and of a member of the city council, in addition to the fact that the mayor is under indictment for mail fraud.

A "Plan E" committee for a manager-P.R. charter has been formed in **Fitchburg, Massachusetts,** and has filed its organization details with the city clerk, thereby having the right to raise funds for a campaign for adoption of the charter at the November election.

After a hectic discussion at the **Southbridge, Massachusetts,** town meeting on March 10 the voters decided to have the town selectmen appoint a committee to look into the feasibility of a town manager or representative town meeting form of government.

A committee has been appointed in the town of **Reading, Massachusetts,** to prepare a report on the advisability of adoption of Plan E, with a town manager and a P. R.-elected council.

In **Mifflinburg, Pennsylvania,** the *Telegraph* has undertaken a campaign to arouse public interest in the council-manager plan for that borough.

The **Richmond, Virginia,** charter commission recommends the council-manager plan (see separate item).

The board of aldermen of **Winston-Salem, North Carolina,** has approved a proposal to seek enabling acts from the state legislature to authorize the city to hold referenda on adoption of the council-manager plan and on extending the city limits (by vote of residents of the city and of the outer area involved).

The city council of **Kinston, North Carolina,** voted three to two on March 17 against asking the state legislature to permit a vote on the manager plan. The Junior Chamber of Commerce has announced that it will continue its efforts for the plan and may seek a referendum by a petition to the county board of elections.

In **Camden, South Carolina,** the Chamber of Commerce has expressed interest in the manager plan.

A council-manager charter for **Rossville, Georgia,** was authorized by the legislature at its recent session. The bill provides for a referendum election to be held in Rossville after six months.

In **Fairmont, West Virginia,** there is a movement for a council-manager charter.

A citizens' committee in the village of **Trenton, Michigan,** is studying the possible adoption of the council-manager plan.

By a vote of 703 to 402 on April 7, the voters of **Coldwater, Michigan,** provided for a charter revision commission. At the same time an advisory vote as to the form of government which the voters desired such a commission to draft favored the council-manager plan 738 to 534.

The new city of **Hart, Michigan,** rejected a non-standard manager charter by one vote on April 7.

The Civic Management Association in the village of **Brookfield, Illinois,** is working for installation of the manager plan. It announces that in the April election five out of the six successful village trustees and also the president of the board were backed by the association. Brookfield has had a manager ordinance for two years but heretofore the board has failed to appoint a manager.

A campaign for the manager plan has been instituted in **Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin,** with the support of the local newspapers.

In **Watertown, Wisconsin,** there is a movement to introduce the manager plan. The *Daily Times* is helping to explain its meaning and operation.

The **Tomah, Wisconsin,** Chamber of Commerce is conducting a publicity campaign in an effort to bring about a vote this autumn on the manager plan.

In **Waukesha, Wisconsin,** a manager proposal was defeated recently by a vote of 3,116 to 2,550.

A newly appointed charter commission in **Willmar, Minnesota,** now under the mayor-council plan, is considering other forms including the council-manager plan.

The charter commission of **Benson, Minnesota,** is interested in the council-manager plan.

A special election on approval of a new council-manager charter in **Faribault, Minnesota,** is contemplated for May or June, the charter commission not having completed its work in time for presentation at the April 1 general election.

Other Minnesota cities where charter commissions have been preparing manager charters include **Bemidji, Crookston, Hastings, Hopkins** and **Montevideo.**

In **Poplar Bluff, Missouri,** petitions have been circulated calling for a referendum on the manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Kennett, Missouri,** is interested in the manager plan.

Several cities in **Kansas** are showing manager-plan activity. They include **Great Bend** and **Larned,** where petitions have been circulated and filed; **Holton,** where the *Signal* reports discussion of the idea; and **Norton,** where discussion has been fostered by the Chamber of Commerce. In **Lawrence** the Chamber of Commerce has appointed a committee to make a study of the manager plan and report its recommendations. If the report is favorable a committee will be appointed to conduct an educational campaign prior to a special election in the fall. **Erie** defeated a manager proposal 360 to 91 on April 1.

Broken Arrow and **Okemah, Oklahoma,** have completed council-manager charters and will vote on them as soon as the law permits. **Lindsay** and **Anadarko** have nearly completed manager charters. Movements for manager government are also under way in **Durant, Tonkawa** and other Oklahoma cities..

The Chamber of Commerce of **Las Animas, Colorado,** has expressed interest in the manager plan.

A campaign for the manager plan has been in progress in **Kalispell, Montana,** with the possibility of an election in the spring or early summer.

A decision by the **Wyoming** Supreme Court is expected soon on the question of a referendum in **Cheyenne** on the manager plan. Petitions for an election, filed in 1945, were deemed insufficient by the city attorney at that time, but the district court held otherwise, which decision was appealed by the city to the Supreme Court. In the hope of a confirmation by the latter tribunal, a campaign in preparation for an election is being planned by proponents of the manager plan, including particularly the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

A recent **Arkansas** statute authorizes municipalities to adopt the manager plan. It provides for election of seven directors, who appoint a manager responsible to them, a three-member civil service commission and a police judge. According to J. E. Halter, Jr., of the Arkansas Public Expenditure Council, major credit for the new legislation goes to a citizens' group in the rice center of **Stuttgart** and to cooperation from the legislature. Civic leaders in Stuttgart are studying comparative advantages of services under mayor and manager forms.

Arkansas cities now operating by special authority under the commission form may change to the manager plan. Two municipalities have heretofore hired managers under permissive ordinances.

Oroville, California, defeated a manager proposal 725 to 286 on April 14.

A special election will be held in **Burlingame, California,** on June 24 on a proposed council-manager charter.

The city council of **Chula Vista, California,** has created the office of city administrative officer, to be the coordinator of all official activities between the council, the public and all city departments. The city clerk, now serving his second term in that office and as city assessor, has been appointed to the new position. A somewhat similar plan is in effect in another California city, **Redlands,** where a city service manager is responsible for eight departments (not including police and fire) and for all purchasing.

Manager Charter Proposed in Richmond, Virginia

On April 7 the Charter Commission of Richmond, Virginia, adopted a tentative charter draft abolishing the two-chamber 32-member unsalaried council,

the ward system and an elected executive, substituting a single council of nine elected at large, with increased powers, including the appointment of a city manager. Councilmen would be elected for two-year terms and be paid $1,200 per annum. Other features of the draft, as summarized in the Richmond *News Leader*, are as follows:

Establishment of a department of personnel and installation of a merit system;

Creation of a department of recreation and parks which would be allowed use of school properties;

Retention of the primary system of nominating persons for council;

Creation of a bureau of traffic safety in the department of public safety and transfer of building maintenance from the safety to the works department;

Elimination of the 5 per cent reserve fund and empowering council to vote emergency appropriations up to $500,000 annually;

Establishment of a traffic court;

Selection of judges of municipal courts by judges of courts of record instead of by council as at present;

Elimination of the elective office of justice of the peace after present terms have expired and transferring the duties to clerks of courts and bail commissioners;

Elimination of the high constable as an elective office and placing his appointment in the hands of the justices of the civil justice court;

Provision for tighter budgetary and fiscal control;

Setting up the gas, water and electric utilities on a sounder financial basis and providing for an increase in rates when necessary.

The charter commission had been intensively engaged for four months in preparation of the document, assisted by Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed, Dr. Rowland A. Egger and Dr. A. M. Hillhouse. Public hearings were set for April 16-17-18; the charter in final form was required to be ready for filing by May 5, with a popular referendum to be held in November. In January, if approved by the voters, it will go to the legislature for action, which if favorable would permit an election of councilmen in June or July 1948, to serve from September 1948 to July 1, 1950.

Charter Activities in New England

Aside from communities where the council-manager plan is an immediate issue, as noted elsewhere, several cities in New England report charter activity.

In Springfield, Massachusetts, a new charter committee is advocating the Plan A or strong-mayor type of city government, including a council of nine, elected at large. Several thousand pamphlets urging that plan and emphasizing the obsolete character of the present charter, nearly 100 years old, have been distributed. A poll of the membership of the Springfield Taxpayers Association, however, shows that 53.6 per cent favor the city manager plan.

In New Haven, Connecticut, the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce urges immediate adoption of the simplified city charter recently drafted, with the single reservation that the board of finance be continued but merely as a body to advise the mayor on the budget and bond issues.

In Norwich, Connecticut, a citizens' committee for better government is planning to prepare a new charter. It is charged that the present form combines the worst features of mayor-council and commission government.

In Woonsocket, Rhode Island, a commission appointed by the mayor to revise ward boundaries has been busy for months. Woonsocket has a two-

chamber council based on five wards with a total of seventeen voting districts, and it is hoped that one chamber can be eliminated. In the 1946 mayoralty election the votes by wards ranged from 907 to 5,251. One suggestion is for a single chamber elected from fourteen voting districts, certain small existing districts to be combined.

Cities Act to Promote Better Race Relations

The Pittsburgh city council has created a Division of Civic Unity as a bureau of the city government, to work out "a program to promote amicable and cooperative relations among the various cultural, racial, economic, social and religious groups of the city, to the end that conditions which cause tension between groups may be eliminated." The ordinance also provides for appointment by the mayor of a civic unity council of fifteen members, to act as an advisory group to the division.

The division is patterned after similar race relations units established by ordinance in Cleveland, Buffalo and Toledo, according to the International City Managers' Association. In Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee and Cambridge, race relations committees have been appointed by the mayor, with the city council appropriating their funds.

The Chicago Mayor's Commission on Human Relations operated last year on a budget of $58,000. Last year's budgets for other race relations units were Detroit, $38,000; Cleveland, $25,000; Cincinnati, $12,000; and Buffalo, $10,000. Units in four other cities receive public funds of over $10,000. Some of these units also receive contributions from private sources. Twenty-five cities are reported by the American Municipal Association as now having race relations groups.

Chicago's agency is aided in its activities by a municipal Civil Rights Bureau, created last fall. San Diego is studying means to further inter-racial amity through municipal action, and a New York committee established by the city council has been investigating alleged discrimination against students seeking admission to professional schools.

Two New Legislative Councils

Arkansas and Washington have joined the ranks of the states striving to improve state law-making by introduction of legislative councils. In Arkansas the House of Representatives has chosen eleven members for the legislative council, the speaker being also a member, ex-officio. The senate has selected six members, with the governor appointing fourteen citizens to the council.

The Washington legislature has provided for a legislative council of ten senators and eleven representatives. It is given authority to examine all phases of state administration, reporting its findings to the legislature.

The Alabama council, created in 1945 and consisting of six representatives, four senators, the house speaker and the senate president, has prepared a printed booklet recommending action in twenty fields of legislation.

Bans on Strikes, Unions of Public Employees

The New York State law prohibiting strikes by public employees—the so-called Condon-Wadlin act—was signed by Governor Dewey on March 27. As finally amended it differs somewhat in form from the preliminary text reported last month in the REVIEW (page 203), where abstinence of a public employee from his work for the purpose of causing a change in wages or working conditions was declared to be misconduct and neglect of duty subject to

corresponding discipline; the word "strike" was not initially used.

The final bill is a flat prohibition against striking by any public employee as there designated, a strike being defined as "the failure to report for duty, the willful absence from one's position, the stoppage of work, or the abstinence in whole or in part from the full, faithful and proper performance of the duties of employment, for the purpose of inducing, influencing or coercing a change in the conditions or compensation or the rights, privileges or obligations of employment."

The amendments noted last month are included, permitting re-employment only on the basis of probation for five years and without increased compensation for three years.

Another paragraph, however, states that an employee "who, without the lawful approval of his superior, fails to report for duty or otherwise absents himself from his position, shall be deemed on strike, provided, however, that such person upon request shall be entitled, as hereinafter provided, to establish that he did not violate the provisions of this section." The law also provides that it shall not be construed to limit the right of any public employee to express grievances, complaints or opinions related to wages or conditions, if such expression "is not designed to and does not interfere with the full, faithful and proper performance of the duties of employment."

Affirming the right of government to prohibit public employees from belonging to a labor union, the California District Court of Appeals recently upheld a ruling of the Los Angeles board of police commissioners prohibiting police membership in unions. According to the International City Managers' Association, the court declared that public servants should not belong to labor unions because such membership divided an allegiance owed entirely to the people under the constitution. The union involved was the local chapter of the Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, an AFL affiliate.

Similar action was taken in Dallas last fall when a local court upheld a city ordinance prohibiting union affiliation by municipal employees, and the Texas Supreme Court recently upheld the lower court's decision. In Tulsa, Oklahoma, last fall a strike of municipal workers was ended when an Oklahoma court declared a labor union had no right to strike against the municipality.

The bill to prohibit strikes by state and local employees in Delaware, referred to last month in the REVIEW, failed of final passage.

Civil Service Assembly to Meet in Dallas

The 1947 annual conference of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada will be held in Dallas, Texas, November 17-20, according to preliminary plans. Three regional conferences have been announced for earlier dates: Eastern, May 5-6 in Toronto, Canada (Royal York Hotel); Central, May 22-23-24 in St. Louis Missouri (Hotel Statler); Western, July 16-17 in Seattle, Washington (New Washington Hotel), followed by an overnight boat trip to Victoria, British Columbia, and a final meeting July 18.

Government Management Fellowships

The Department of Government Management, University of Denver, has announced ten fellowships of $100 per month for a twelve-month graduate program designed to train students for responsible positions in governmental research.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

For Efficient Local and State Governments

Reports on Organization, Administration, Procedures

THAT form of government is best which maintains the interest of individuals in municipal affairs, draws from among them the best talent, and in turn secures for them the services which they require with the least possible waste or friction," says the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Mississippi** in *Forms of Municipal Government in Mississippi,* by Robert B. Highsaw, director of the bureau. The booklet describes with graphs the forms of municipal government in the United States, outlines the advantages and defects of each and relates this information to Mississippi practice. Mississippi municipalities have no legal means of obtaining the council-manager plan; the need for such option is emphasized.

The **Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Vermont** has published a series of four bulletins on land use in Vermont. Robert M. Carter, in *The Development and Financing of Local Governmental Institutions in Nine Vermont Towns,* "interprets local public institutions in relation to the physical environment" and notes trends in governmental organization, taxation, the highway system, the educational system and public welfare. Another report, *An Economic Study of Local Government in 50 Vermont Towns,* by John J. Dalton and Sheldon W. Williams, analyzes town finances during the fiscal year ending January 31, 1933, with emphasis on factors related to variations in governmental costs and tax burdens, with a view to investigating "the possibility of reducing town expenditures."

A *Report on the Preliminary Review of the Government of the City of Minneapolis,* prepared by the **Public Administration Service,** H. G. Pope, executive director, describes the social and economic features of Minneapolis, the structure of the city government, the fiscal pattern and factors contributing to the present financial difficulties of the city. No recommendations are made in the report since its purpose is to identify problems and provide necessary data for a later analysis. The report is summarized in several bulletins issued by the **Mayor's Tax and Finance Commission of Minneapolis,** Roy G. Blakey, chairman.

Government Research, Inc., of Los Angeles, Ed F. Thompson, executive secretary, reports on *The Need for a New Charter for the City of Los Angeles and Methods of Obtaining It* (fourteen pages). Two methods of writing a new charter are provided by the California constitution: preparation either by an elected board of freeholders or by the city council or a citizens committee appointed by it. The advantages and disadvantages of both are discussed.

The **Bureau of Municipal Research of Toronto,** H. L. Brittain, managing director, in its *Monthly Letter* advocates staggered two-year terms for members of elected city councils and school boards because of advantages such as continuity of membership and policy over the "straight" two-year term and the one-year term.

The **Governmental Research Association** has reprinted as a special pamphlet three articles by Dr. Thomas H. Reed on *Revising a City Charter,* twelve pages, 25 cents. The articles deal respectively with the process of obtain-

ing a new charter, the form, language and arrangement of the charter, and the content of the document. The articles are conceived in the spirit expressed in a postscript advising charter drafters to "be realistic," avoiding the sacrifice of what Theodore Roosevelt called "realizable ideals" to "mere perfectionism."

Manager Plan

"What Is Council-Manager Government," asks the **Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis** in an issue of *Dollars and Sense in Government* published just before the February election in University City at which the voters adopted the council-manager plan. In a brief two pages, the institute outlines the principles of the plan, its history and its probable cost to University City.

The **Bureau of Government Research of the University of New Hampshire** has issued *The Manager Plan and New Hampshire Towns and Cities,* by Lashley G. Harvey, 23 pages. The report indicates that New Hampshire cities and towns need to replace their historic municipal administration with the modern manager plan. A description of the council-manager form of government and the movement for it in New Hampshire is included together with appendices containing the New Hampshire town manager and city manager laws and a bibliography.

The **Emporia, Kansas, Chamber of Commerce,** prior to the city's successful election for the council-manager plan, issued a 26-page report on council-manager government by Dr. Claude E. Arnett working with a committee appointed by the chamber. Information on the working of the plan was collected from various sources and compiled in question-and-answer fashion. While an attempt was made to present both the defects and strong points of the plan, the data available tip the scale in favor of this form of government.

Metropolitan Government Studied

"Review of Alternatives for Metropolitan Government," by the research staff of the **Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research,** is presented in *Greater Cleveland,* published by the **Citizens League of Cleveland,** Robert W. Chamberlin, director. The pros and cons of such proposals as the creation of special districts, the use of the county as the basis, annexation of the whole urban area to the central city, statehood for the metropolitan area, and metropolitan regional government are discussed.

The **Regional Association of Cleveland,** Ernest J. Bohn, director, urges that each municipality in the Cleveland metropolitan area undertake a vacant land inventory. Although recommending this for the immediate purpose of meeting the housing crisis, the study "will serve as a rational basis for determination of future zoning policies." The course that should be followed in making such a study is outlined.

"What's Best for Metropolitan Indianapolis" in respect to its sanitation system is the subject of *It IS Your Business,* bulletin of the **Bureau of Government Research of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce,** Carl R. Dortch, director. The bureau favors expansion of the metropolitan sanitation district to include any area needing service in Marion County. "Once suburban areas become closely built up, individual systems become dangerous and noxious. Let's use the machinery already wisely provided."

Metropolis in Maps is the pictorial means taken by the **Bureau for Research in Municipal Government of the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration,** Morris B. Lambie, di-

rector, to discover if the Boston metropolitan district is "fact or phantom." The first section presents 23 maps showing overlapping districts within the Boston area, such as the telephone exchange, fire protection, police districts, etc. Later sections relate Boston to the national and world picture. The core of metropolitan Boston is easy to define the bureau finds; it is the outer fringes of special districts that cause the confusion as to "what is metropolitan Boston."

"Practically every governmental problem facing Buffalo vitally affects the adjacent towns, and in many ways all of Erie County," asserts the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau** in a recent issue of *Just a Moment,* George G. Sipprell, managing director. The bureau advocates the consolidation of the health departments of Buffalo and Erie County, transfer of city probation service to the county and consolidation of the city and county library systems.

Is a "Greater Tarrytown" Wise and Possible?, a report by Thomas H. Reed and Doris D. Reed, "contributes to the clarification of public thinking on the subject of consolidation in the Tarrytown area." Outlining the ideal setup for the area of the Tarrytowns, Irvington and Pocantico Hills, recommendations are made to determine how closely this could be approached under existing circumstances. Consolidation of Tarrytown, North Tarrytown and Irvington as a city is the major recommendation of the report.

"The Government of Metropolitan Toronto" is discussed by the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Toronto** in a recent *Monthly Letter.* The bureau feels that one local government for the whole area would solve many of the "tangles" caused by "existing boundaries [which] are partly a matter of chance, partly the result of special interests, partly perhaps of planning, but certainly not of community planning in the larger sense."

State Constitutions and Government

The Proceedings of the 6th Annual Southern Institute of Local Government has recently been published by the **Division of University Extension for the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Tennessee,** Lee S. Greene, director. Since constitutional revision is an active issue, the institute devoted its 1946 session to problems of local government and constitutional revision. Titles and authors of the papers are: "County Government and Constitutional Revision in Tennessee," by M. H. Satterfield; "Constitutional Revision and the Courts," by William H. Wicker; "Constitutional Revision in a Southern State," by William L. Bradshaw; "What Is Needed to Secure Public Support for Constitutional Change," by Charlton F. Chute; and "What Cities Need in the Constitution," by Morton L. Wallerstein.

The **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Kansas,** Ethan P. Allen, director, has issued two new reports on *Governmental Agencies of the State of Kansas, 1861-1946,* by Bessie F. Wilder, and *Legislative Procedure in Kansas,* by Frederic H. Guild and Clyde F. Snider. The first is a check list of 563 state governmental agencies which have passed across the political scene in Kansas. The second is designed as a reference guide to the legislative process. A detailed table of contents provides a quick means of obtaining specific information.

A more popular treatment of legislative procedure is *The Life of a Bill,* by Rhoten A. Smith, also published by the Kansas bureau. Mr. Smith feels that much of the public indifference that deprives the legislature of "that active support essential to the mainte-

nance of a healthy democratic society" can be traced to ignorance of the legislative process. Thus this pamphlet does for the layman what *Legislative Procedure in Kansas* does for the legislator.

Report Number 4 of the 1947 series of legislative problems by the **University of South Carolina's Bureau of Public Administration**, Christian L. Larsen, assistant director, deals with *Centralized Purchasing for States*. Benefits are summarized and experience with centralized purchasing in North Carolina is described.

Public Employees and Salaries Investigated

Pending legislation in the California legislature exempting court employees from municipal civil service requirements respecting salary and promotion is a threat to the merit system within the San Francisco municipal service, declares the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director, in a recent *Bulletin*.

"City Salary Rates" is the subject of two bulletins of the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau**. A table of thirteen compensation grades indicates that two-thirds of the city's employees fall within the $2100-2700 range. The bureau's proposal for salary adjustments would discard a flat increase plan. Suggestions include the appointment of a salary survey committee of limited duration, job elimination through combination of duties and an expedited effort to find new revenue sources.

The Chicago fireman is favorably treated in comparison with firemen of other municipalities and with his fellow public employees, comments the **Chicago Civic Federation,** Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary, in *An Analysis of the Salary Schedule Applying to Firemen of the City of Chicago,* together with *An Analysis of the Proposed Changes in the Work Schedule.* The proposed work schedule, which would increase operating costs from 7.6 per cent to 55 per cent, would add to the fireman's "existing preferential status . . . and increase the load of already strained municipal finances."

Comparative Data Fire Departments and *Comparative Data Police Departments* have been compiled by the **Department of Government Affairs of the Dayton Chamber of Commerce,** John R. Kerstetter, manager, and include "authoritative current and reliable information on expenditures, coverage, pay, working conditions, etc., of Dayton and comparable cities of Ohio and the United States."

In re-examining city expenditures, the **Governmental Research Institute** of St. Louis, in *Dollars and Sense in Government,* points out that St. Louis could reduce the number of police department employees. It is statistically shown that in relation to the other eighteen largest American cities, the St. Louis police force is "heavily manned."

Transportation and Parking Problems

The **Association of Washington Cities,** Joshua H. Vogel, acting executive secretary, together with the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Washington,** Donald H. Webster, director, recently conducted a survey of five airports in Washington and Oregon. Data on the size and equipment of the fields and on salaries and other operating costs are given.

The **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** in an analysis of the history, financial aspects and future plans of the Buffalo airport, suggests that careful thought be given as to whether the county or a broader area should be charged with local airport operation.

A forthcoming origin and destination

survey of the Philadelphia-Camden metropolitan area is discussed in *Citizens' Business* under the title "Transportation Yardstick," by the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia,** William C. Beyer, director.

Business Views on the Parking Problem in Ohio Cities, by James C. Yocum, published by the **Bureau of Business Research of Ohio State University,** summarizes the views of businessmen in 48 Ohio cities as to whether city government, private business or both should be held responsible for providing parking facilities.

"There are in Pittsfield today as many unaccepted streets as there are accepted streets" finds the **Pittsfield (Massachusetts) Taxpayers Association,** Philip C. Ahern, research director. In an attempt to show the cause and effect relation between the exploitation of land by developers and the unaccepted street problem of today, data gathered by the Public Works Department were assembled in an unusually effective *Unaccepted Street Report.* Pictures, newspaper clippings and graphs bring home important facts about the planless development of land.

Costs of Government under Scrutiny

A summary of current appropriations and means of financing Cook County's expenses is contained in a bulletin of the **Civic Federation of Chicago,** Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary. The report also includes recommendations by the Board of County Commissioners for the more "economic use of existing funds" and the "development of other sources of revenue."

James A. Cunningham, president of the federation, in a statement made at the public budget hearing, concluded that "the cost of local government in Chicago rests far too heavily on property." "More state-collected revenue could and should be returned to the local units," continued Mr. Cunningham, but only if "city officials are willing to initiate a thorough-going revision and revamping of existing practice and policies affecting personnel and purchasing."

"When should a budget be passed" and "when should a budget be balanced," asks the **Citizens Research Institute of Canada,** Horace L. Brittain, director, in an *Open Letter.* The budget should be passed as early as possible and should be more than balanced in good times so that deficits may be incurred in bad times. Surpluses can be obtained by reducing governmental expenditures on the federal level.

"The Cost of Government in Canada —Municipal Government," is measured by the institute in *Canadian Taxation.* Municipal taxation has remained stable since 1929, with decreases in both revenues and expenditures during the war and a gradual reduction in annual debt charges.

The **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research,** which is also directed by Mr. Brittain, pleads in its *Monthly Letter* for "Taxation of Governmentally Owned Public Utilities." "Any undertaking that does not pay its share of the cost passes on part or all of its proper tax burden to its employees, the employees of other undertakings, and to other undertakings."

Bureau Programs and Prospects

A plan for administrative research in governmental operations in Cleveland is outlined in a recent number of *Greater Cleveland,* bulletin of the **Citizens League of Cleveland.** The plan calls for production of a "functional, service, and activity outline of the main governmental units of the metropolitan area of Cleveland" to provide a basis

for budget analysis and evaluation and comparison of public services. End results envisaged are "a comprehensive picture of local government institutions and forecasts for future development."

The development of a program of governmental research at **Rutgers University** to aid New Jersey governmental units was suggested by Dr. Robert C. Clothier, president of Rutgers University, in an address at the annual conference of the New Jersey League of Municipalities, reproduced in its publication, *New Jersey Municipalities*. Dr. Clothier reviewed research and technical services that the university now provides for local governments through such technical departments as botany, zoology, engineering, physical education, entymology, psychology, etc.

The *Proceedings of the Thirty-second Annual Conference of the Governmental Research Association,* held in Magnolia, Massachusetts, September 10-13, 1946, can now be obtained from the **Governmental Research Association,** G. Gordon Tegnell, secretary, for **$2.**[1] The 91-page document includes the conference program and seventeen of the papers and addresses presented.

A brief report on the 6th annual conference, the first in four years, of the **Western Governmental Research Association,** held in Sacramento, may be found in the November 1946 *Western City*. There was a record-breaking attendance of 139 delegates to deliberate on government research and reorganization for peace. The conference was guided by President Edwin A. Cottrell, professor of political science at Stanford University. The association elected as its new president Alfred H. Campion, assistant chief administrative officer of Los Angeles County. Russell Barthell, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, was elected executive secretary.

The review of *A Quarter Century of Municipal Research* by the **Bureau of Municipal Research, University of Texas,** Stuart A. MacCorkle, director, originally printed in two articles in *Texas Municipalities,* has been reprinted with slight changes in pamphlet form.[2] The material was prepared by Lynn F. Anderson, research assistant in the bureau.

Announcement has been made of the establishment of the **Dade County (Florida) Research Foundation,** John F. Willmott, executive director. The purpose of the foundation as stated by the board of directors is generally "to assist in the development and improvement of the local governments of Dade County" by conducting administrative and financial surveys of the Miami city government, the county government and other local units, making recommendations to appropriate officials and providing informational services to civic organizations.

A two-page year-by-year *Review of the Record 1932-1947,* issued by the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau,** Richard A. Atkins, secretary, presents an impressive list of "major accomplishments in matters of public policy where the bureau took the leadership or where bureau-supplied facts play a significant part." The report indicates that the work of the bureau has been instrumental in saving Boston taxpayers many millions of dollars while supporting policies designed to improve standards of public service.

W. Earl Weller, executive director of the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research,** and five of his staff members have been engaged in a fiscal survey of Utica with the assistance of the **Utica Bureau of Municipal Research,** William R. Coates, executive director. The cost of the survey is being shared by the city of Utica and the Utica bureau.

[1] See October 1946 REVIEW, page 477.

[2] See November 1946 REVIEW, page 538.

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Seattle Looks at Its Candidates

Municipal League Service to Voters in 35th Year

SEATTLE citizens are fortunate to have a service in the public interest which is only infrequently found in cities in the United States. This service is embodied in the reports on candidates issued for over 34 years by the **Municipal League of Seattle**, a 3,200-member local governmental research organization. One of the vital gaps in our democratic process, that anyone may file for office without supplying adequate personal information to help voters pass on his qualifications, is substantially closed by this device.[1]

Since 1940 candidates' reports have followed a standardized four-column format—candidate's name and address, personal data (age, length of local residence, marital status), experience in business and public affairs, and the organization's comment. During the last six years the reports have scrupulously avoided choosing a slate and the previous practice of using the terms "preferred," "qualified," and "not qualified" has been abolished. These two changes were made by the Board of Trustees to keep the league from becoming a campaign issue.

The report is limited to candidates for local city, county, school and port offices and to aspirants seeking state legislative posts from districts within King County, of which Seattle is the county seat.

Here is a description of the current procedure followed in preparing reports on candidates. After committee preference sheets are returned by league members, the president, with the assistance of the staff, carefully chooses about twenty persons to serve as members of the candidates' investigating committee. Anyone closely affiliated with any candidate or having a particular favoritism toward or bias against any of them is screened out. Committee members are selected for their judgment, their knowledge of local governmental problems, their wide acquaintanceship in the community and their integrity. No attention is paid to political affiliation. Every committee during the past six years has had members of both major political parties.

Previous to action by the committee the league staff assembles basic data on candidates, tapping several sources: (1) the league files of newspaper clippings on present and former officeholders and perennial office seekers;

(2) A questionnaire to each candidate asking for information on his age, length of residence in the city or county, educational, business and work background, prior political experience, military service, church and club affiliations, plans if he is elected, names of three references, and probable amount of campaign expenditures;

(3) Letters of inquiry to the three references, seeking information on the reference's degree of acquaintanceship with the political aspirant, his ap-

[1]Other organizations which perform a similar function include the Detroit Citizens League, the Citizens Union of New York, the Citizens League of Cleveland, Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) Civic Club and League of Women Voters (see the REVIEW, March 1947, page 161).

praisal of the candidate's business, professional and other experience, judgment, knowledge of office, interests and reputation. Occasionally, references give surprisingly frank opinions of their office-seeking friends. Two letters received in 1946 referred to candidates as "flighty in judgment" and "unable to make decisions." Credit references are sometimes obtained on comparatively unknown candidates.

After information from these sources is integrated by the staff the candidates' committee begins its work.

All candidates are invited to appear before the committee of investigators. About 55 per cent accept the invitation.[2] Some do not appear because they received unfavorable comments from the league during previous campaigns. Some do not wish to have their ideas brought out into the open, preferring to hide behind the glittering generalities of campaign speeches. Others feel that, since they hold decidedly different views on some public matters from those of most members of the candidates' committee, they will not get a fair comment. Still others know little or nothing about the Municipal League and probably feel that it would be a waste of time to be interrogated.

Specific questions are asked each candidate relative to the office to which he aspires. The candidates' replies are noted by the committee chairman and the staff, while committee members attempt to rate him as to education, knowledge of office, success in private affairs, extent of community leadership, prior political activities, and probabilities of success in office.

[2]One hundred ninety five of the 357 candidates for local offices appeared before the interviewing committee during the past year.

Questioning of candidates by committee members prior to the 1946 local elections disclosed that most candidates did not have the slightest conception of the duties, responsibilities and problems of the office for which they had filed. One of the committeemen made this thought-provoking statement at the conclusion of four days of interviewing aspirants for county and state posts: "If this were an employment office of a large business firm, not more than 5 per cent of these applicants would be given the slightest consideration. Yet here are the people who think they are competent to run our local public offices."

After candidates have been interviewed committee members get down to the task of appraising the candidate's reputation and personality, his present and past public performance and his probable success in office. Out of this time-consuming and tedious process the committee finally establishes comments for about 85 per cent of the candidates along some of the following lines: "Record as city councilman unimpressive," "well informed on city affairs—hard worker," "capable administrator as treasurer and assessor," "Record of incompetence as county treasurer." About 15 per cent of the candidates are not commented upon, sometimes because the committee cannot agree and other times because it does not have adequate information.

Following the report's approval by the league's Board of Trustees, it is released in large quantities as an issue of the *Seattle Municipal News,* official publication of the Seattle Municipal League, and is reprinted in large part by all three daily metropolitan newspapers and numerous weekly community and county papers. Sixty thousand copies were distributed prior to the spring 1946 city election

and 40,000 copies preceding the fall 1946 county and state elections. In view of this wide circulation it seems justifiable to conclude that the reports are a definite factor in local elections.

It is impossible to estimate accurately the influence that favorable comments by the league have in electing the best qualified candidates. There are too many factors, tangible and intangible, which have weight in deciding elections. However, the fact that during the past seven years 87 per cent of the successful aspirants for local public offices (excluding state legislative posts) received favorable comment in league reports seems to show that these reports have an apparently important influence on the outcome of city, county, port and school elections.

The Municipal League of Seattle performs a valuable function in issuing its reports on candidates; a great amount of factual material is brought together and presented in concise, easy-to-understand form to voters who, without such aid, would go to the polls with little or no information and oftentimes misinformation about many candidates. Many league members opine that if the league had no other activity than that of compiling this report, the continued existence of the organization would be easy to justify.

JOHN C. BOLLENS
Former Research Director
Seattle Municipal League

New Yonkers Group

The recently organized **Yonkers Municipal League** started its career by announcing its full support of Yonkers' council-manager form of government and the P. R. method of electing the city's council. Wayne E. Huson has been chosen as president of the new organization and Frederick W. Maxwell and James H. Moseley were elected vice presidents. Two other groups in Yonkers, the City Manager League and the Committee of 100, have been invited to merge with the new group.

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Looking Forward

Looking toward the 1947 fall elections, the **City Charter Commission of Cincinnati,** Forest Frank, executive director, has asked members and other interested citizens to recommend candidates for the charter committee's councilmanic ticket. Sole qualifications, says the committee, are "(1) integrity, intelligence, ability and desire to get Cincinnati out of its rut; (2) support of the principles of honest, efficient, nonpartisan government, civil service, non-interference with the administrative authority, and P.R." The committee has published and sent to all members a copy of the address by President Charles P. Taft before the organization's annual meeting.

The **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy,** Harry K. Butcher, secretary, in its *Civic Affairs* comments that "every voter in this city should begin to think about our 1947 elections NOW! In 1947 the people of Philadelphia will elect a MAYOR, CITY COUNCIL, DISTRICT ATTORNEY and other important local officials." The committee points out that the cost of government is up but despite the fact that the committee "has again and again urged adoption of a common-sense, business-like program for the administration of our municipal affairs . . . [its] proposals have been consistently ignored by the mayor and city council. And today the net result is that IN MANY BRANCHES OF OUR LOCAL GOVERNMENT, PHILADELPHIA'S PER CAPITA COSTS ARE AMONG THE HIGHEST OF THE LARGE CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES."

Articles on Citizenship

"A Taxpayer Looks at Local Government," in *Municipal Finance,* August 1946, published by the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, is the address of Thomas C. Boushall before the MFOA conference at Richmond, Virginia.

"Citizen Action—Notes on Local Taxpayer Activities," appeared in the January issue of *The Tax Digest,* **California Taxpayers' Association,** N. Bradford Trenham, general manager. Covered are the activities of the **Alameda** and **Kern County Taxpayers Associations.**

The *Journal of Educational Sociology* devoted its entire December issue to "Citizens' Councils and Community Development," Rhea M. Eckel, special editor. The articles deal with the work of the **New York State Citizens' Council** which has developed a hundred community councils throughout the state.

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Where Can We Find the Money?

The report by the **Chattanooga League of Women Voters on** *Possible Sources of New Revenue* (26 pages), made at the suggestion of Mayor Bass, was compiled by league members under the chairmanship of Miss Nancy Lee Smith. The committee selected seventeen cities with which to make comparisons, weighting the list in favor of southern communities "because everyone wants to know how we stack up with our neighbors." Cities chosen were also weighted in favor of those getting substantial revenues outside the property tax. Listed are possibilities for additional revenues with a comment as to whether state legislative action or a city ordinance is required. A bibliography and numerous tables making comparisons between the cities studied complete the volume.

'A Little Book Did It'

"Every family in Burlington, Iowa," says *Action,* bulletin of the **National League of Women Voters,** Miss Anna Lord Strauss, president, "knows that the League of Women Voters is interested in good government and is doing something to make each citizen understand his part in achieving it. That such a positive statement can be made is due to a 66-page handbook called *Your Part in a Democracy,* written and published . . . by the **Burlington league** and given free to every household. The cost of $3,500 was contributed by 51 interested citizens." The book is an attractive two-color job, with charts and illustrations. It is being used as a supplementary text in the schools, the city clerk keeps a supply for new residents and voters, and the demand for copies has been so great a second printing has been made.

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Recent Publications

What Municipal Sins Cost is the text of an address by George W. Wanamaker, comptroller of Buffalo, New York, before the **Municipal Forum of New York.** Copies may be secured at 50 cents each (discounts on quantity orders) from John A. Keane, chairman of the subcommittee on distribution, 30 Pine Street, New York.

The *Report of the First National Conference on Citizenship,* held last May in Philadelphia[1] under the sponsorship of the **National Education Association,** contains a full discussion of the sessions and is illustrated with photographs of various speakers and participants. The report (114 pages) is available through the NEA at 50 cents per copy—discounts on quantity orders.

The Discussion Leader's Manual—Forum Series on Citizenship (29 pages

[1]See "Conference Marks Citizenship Day," the REVIEW, May 1946, page 256.

mimeographed) was prepared by Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., under the direction of Dr. William S. Vincent of Columbia University, for the **Youth Conservation Committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.** Its purpose is "to assist community groups interested in the study and discussion of present vital problems of American life."

* * *

New Constitution Urged for Illinois

The Board of Governors of the **Chicago City Club** has issued a statement that the club, through its Constitutional Revision Committee, will again take a leading part in efforts to secure a new state constitution. Chairman of the committee is Professor Kenneth C. Sears of the University of Chicago Law School.

The City Club urges that "in place of our present 76-year-old strait-jacket, Illinois should adopt a new constitution by the convention method. . . . Governor Green's. . . failure to take any stand on the calling of a constitutional convention indicates the need for a continuous campaign by the civic organizations and newspapers of the state. The fight is worth while and it can be won."

* * *

Internship Program

Coro Foundation of San Francisco is training twelve veterans in an internship program at the San Francisco city and county building. It is continuing its workshop of the past three years for students from Stanford, Mills, University of California, San Francisco State College and University of San Francisco. Dr. Edwin A. Cottrell, who recently retired as Dean of Stanford University's School of Social Sciences, is educational consultant and trustee of the foundation.

Zoning

Hearings on a proposed zoning ordinance for Houston, Texas, prompted the Zoning Committee of the **Houston Chamber of Commerce** to make a survey of opinions of chambers of commerce in the large cities on zoning ordinances in their communities. Specifically, the committee inquired, "Has the administration of your zoning ordinance been fair to all alike?" The results of the survey are contained in a report, *Is Zoning Fair?*

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Proud of Its Record

"Yonkers is a better run city because of the work of our members," announces the **Yonkers (New York) Committee of 100,** Walter L. Hough, executive secretary. The committee is seeking new memberships and has sent members cards on which to record the names of prospects. The committee is writing to such prospects but asking its members to make personal contact.

* * *

Forum on Merger

A forum on the merger of Burlington City and Township, New Jersey, recently recommended by Mayor Harold V. Holmes, was held by the local **Young Men's Club.** J. Woodard Tallman, president of the club, explained that the purpose of the forum was to bring into the open information on the proposal, pointing out advantages and disadvantages. A number of city and township officials were in attendance.

* * *

Continuing the Battle

"Realizing that many people voted for city manager in the belief that the Jaycees would follow through in the program of getting a group of capable, representative citizens to allow their names to be submitted as candidates for city commissioner," says Jack Davis, chairman of the City Manager Committee of the **Hutchinson,**

Kansas, Junior Chamber of Commerce, "and knowing that in order for city manager government to be an improvement over our present form we must have a city commission which must favor city manager government for Hutchinson, we accept the responsibility of persuading qualified citizens to run for city commissioner and pledge to them our support in the event they are elected."

* * *

Why No City Report

The city neglects opportunity to inform the public of its accomplishments and needs, says the **Cleveland Citizens League,** Robert W. Chamberlin, director, in *Greater Cleveland.* The league points out that the city's last annual report was for 1939, the one prior to that covered 1916. "Thus for thirty years there has been only one general report of the city government. During this period the scale of activity of city government has increased many times over, the arts of municipal administration have advanced markedly, and citizens' dependence upon and contribution to city government have grown."

* * *

With the Taxpayer Groups

Taxes, Questions and Answers on State and Federal Taxes Levied in Wisconsin (64 pages, 25 cents) has been published by the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance,** Paul N. Reynolds, executive director. "This pocket-manual tax dictionary," says the booklet, "is designed to meet the citizens' need for up-to-date tax information presented in a form which is easy to read and easy to understand."

"Your Taxes would be higher but for what the organized taxpayers of Massachusetts have accomplished," says a brightly colored folder of the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations,** Norman Mac Donald, executive director. The leaflet describes how the citizens must "foot the bill," how the federation functions, and some of the work of local taxpayer groups throughout the state.

In its monthly *Taxtalk* the Massachusetts federation is carrying a question-and-answer column, "Local Government Clinic," for the benefit of local officials, taxpayer groups and *Taxtalk* subscribers.

The **Woodbury County (Sioux City, Iowa) Taxpayers Conference,** James L. Barclay, executive secretary, is interested in securing legislation which will give local governments sources of revenue other than real estate taxes. It reports a meeting at which 48 representatives from 26 Iowa cities and towns were present to discuss the subject.

New Gains for the Taxpayer, a four-page folder issued by the **Minnesota Taxpayers Association,** Norman A. Borgen, secretary-treasurer, describes the 1946 congressional reorganization act which it terms "a long step forward."

The "Taxpayers Clinic" conducted by the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association** A. R. Everson, executive vice-president, at its annual meeting earlier this year, was so successful a second clinic was arranged.

* * *

Juvenile Delinquency Aired

"The Eagle's Brood," a documentary broadcast on juvenile delinquency presented by the **Columbia Broadcasting System,** recommended neighborhood councils as the most hopeful first step in attacking the combined effects of parental and civic ignorance and indifference, antiquated judicial and penal systems, political corruption, substandard housing, etc. The CBS program, based on three months' travel and study by Robert Lewis Shayon, was widely lauded for setting a new standard in public service broadcasts.

Proportional Representation • • *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Boston Commission Asks Vote on P. R.

Massachusetts Upholds P. R. New York Launches Attack

THE special commission headed by Senator Charles J. Innes, created by the Massachusetts legislature to study revision of the Boston city charter, turned in a majority report on April 1. The commission recommended a referendum on May 27 of this year at which voters of the city would be permitted to choose between proportional representation and the "limited vote" for electing a nine-man council and a five-man school committee at large. The question of whether the council should be empowered to appoint a city manager would be determined by another referendum the following year after the election of the new council.

The report also recommends that, upon the filing of the usually required number of signatures, the question of adopting "Plan E" (manager plan with P.R.) be allowed to go on the ballot at the November election. An affirmative vote would provide the manager plan in addition to P.R. without further delay.

The commission's report is expected to be promptly embodied in legislation. Dwight S. Strong, acting chairman of the Plan E for Boston Committee, although generally favoring the report, expressed preference for legislation providing simply for adoption of a charter of the Plan E type instead of the delayed two-step procedure for essentially the same plan proposed by the commission. Mr. Strong stated on April 2 that if the referendum is held as proposed his committee will favor proportional representation over the alternative limited vote plan because it is "the fairest and least arbitrary method."

Right to Use P. R. Upheld in Massachusetts House

On April 8 the Massachusetts house of representatives overwhelmed a bill to ban the use of proportional representation in connection with Plan E city government by 132 votes to 57. The bill had previously passed the senate March 31 by 19 to 15 in a surprise rejection of an adverse committee report.

The bill, introduced at the request of a perennial Cambridge opponent, would have terminated the use of P.R. in Cambridge and Lowell and interrupted campaigns for adoption in several other cities.

In spite of the solid Democratic vote against P. R. in the senate P. R. is not generally regarded in Massachusetts as a partisan issue. The senate action was deplored by newspapers and leading citizens of both parties. The vote is best explained in terms of local politics. The Democratic party was the party under whose standard Cambridge and Lowell were notoriously misgoverned just prior to the adoption of Plan E charters and, although a majority of the councilors in both cities are still Democrats, the old type of party machine control has largely disappeared. The current agitation for adoption of Plan E in Boston and other communities may have appeared to the Democratic senators as a threat of further reduction of the value of political patronage available to their party.

Those favoring the P. R. repeal tacit-

ly emphasized the improvement in city government in Cambridge and Lowell under Plan E by not making any serious attempt to discredit the government of those cities and relying almost entirely upon theoretical objections to P. R., such as that voiced by Councilor William C. Geary of Lowell, who said: "There is no question that this is a Communist program, sponsored by the Communist party. Everyone agrees it is not good for our national government and I say that it is no good for our cities." To this and similar charges the *Boston Post*, leading Democratic newspaper in Massachusetts, with a policy that has been as thoroughly anti-Communist as any newspaper in the state, answered editorially on April 1:

> The claims that this system is "communistic" and destroys free speech are not borne out. Under the operation of P. R., as we have seen it, no one has been prevented from raising his voice on any municipal issue. . . . Nor has there been any fostering of Communism. The attack on this system that has been waged in the state senate has been carried on, we suspect, more for selfish political purposes than in the interests of better government.
>
> The commonwealth of Massachusetts would make itself ridiculous if this system were to be outlawed.

Councilor Geary was also answered by Councilor and former Mayor Woodbury F. Howard of Lowell, who said: "In Kansas City, Missouri, the Pendergast machine, with a city manager but without proportional representation, elected every member of the city council and brought the city to the verge of bankruptcy. The Massachusetts senate, on its record, is lining up with machine politicians who are always against proportional representation because they cannot control it." He added that by eliminating P. R. the senate would leave Plan E "an empty shell."

Answering a letter expressing the various arguments advanced for the repeal of P. R., Ex-Councilor Marcus Morton, Jr., of Cambridge wrote in a letter to the *Boston Globe*:

> The letter states that proportional representation is a system whereby control is taken from the majority and transferred to minority groups. That is false. On the contrary, there is far more majority control under proportional representation than under the old system. Under the old system the wasted ballot of a member of the minority in the ward counted for not one single elected councilor and a majority of the council was almost invariably elected by a minority of the voters. Under proportional representation all except a few hundred of the ballots cast are on file in sealed boxes labelled with the names of the councilors whom they actually elected. A majority of the councilors have control. Therefore, under proportional representation there cannot be anything but control by a majority of the voters.
>
> The letter states that proportional representation thus destroys the bipartisan system of government. That is false. The bipartisan system of government has been abolished in other forms of charter and in many cities. Proportional representation has nothing to do with the abolition.
>
> The letter states that racial and religious groups battle to elect representatives and the entire melting pot idea of Americanism is killed. That is utterly false. In these first five and a half years and three elections under proportional representation in Cambridge there has never been the slightest evidence of racial or religious competition. It is one of the most valuable incidentals of proportional representation that character assassination and name-calling are of little use, so that election depends on what a candidate stands for rather than on the names he calls other candidates. Proportional representation has done more in causing diverse elements of our population to work together in a true melting pot for the common cause than anything that has happened in Cambridge during the 23 years I have been lucky enough to live there.

Now that the P. R. ban has been defeated in the house, the campaigns to adopt Plan E reported in our last issue are going forward. One of the cities in which the campaign is well advanced is the relatively prosperous suburban community of Newton, west of Boston. Commenting on the drive there the *Boston Traveler* said editorially on March 21:

> It is part of the dynamism of the Plan E movement that it is not restricted to communities where poor government would make it a natural recourse. It flourishes as a movement in communities where good government would make it seem unlikely.
>
> In Newton, for example, there is a persistent and well supported Plan E movement. A drive already is under way to get the 4300 signatures necessary to place the question on the next ballot.
>
> The reason for this vigor, apart from its proved success nearby, is not hard to find. The principle of proportional representation accords with the finest ideals of justice and democracy. It is only natural that the residents of Newton should turn in substantial numbers to a concept of city government which brings to so practical a realization the essence of these ideals.

P. R. Fight Renewed in New York

As long expected, an attack on proportional representation has been launched in New York City for the "off-year" election of 1947. Most of the Democratic party leaders have never reconciled themselves to the loss of the near-monopoly which they enjoyed in the board of aldermen before P. R. was adopted in 1936 and which they have never been able to approach since.

In 1940, a presidential year, a repeal attempt was defeated at the polls by 782,768 votes to 565,879. It was anticipated, therefore, that the next attempt would be made at an election when there was no presidential, gubernatorial or mayoralty contest to bring out the independent voters in force. Such elections come once in every four years, and this is one of them.

This year, in addition to the probable light vote, the opponents of P. R. have unexpectedly had another advantage handed them. Present feelings of exasperation at the course being followed by the government of Russia are being directed against P. R. because of the presence of two Communists on the 23-member city council. Using this issue to the limit the attackers hope to persuade the voters to do away with all minority representation.

The charge is being made that Communists and other left-wing radicals have been able to "beat the system" and get more than their share of representation. Actually the Communist candidates polled 7 per cent of the first-choice votes in the city, increased their vote to 9 per cent of the total by votes transferred to next choices as hopeless candidates were defeated, and secured 9 per cent of the seats on the council. The American Labor party, the other left-wing group, polled 11 per cent of the first choices and 10 per cent of the final vote, and secured 9 per cent of the council. The votes for candidates of all groups have always been faithfully reflected by P. R. in the make-up of the council.[1]

It is expected that the repeal movement will take the form of a charter amendment providing for 25 councilmen elected by regular partisan plurality vote in state senate districts in mayoralty years. "Dope stories" to this effect appeared in all the New York papers late in March and were followed in several papers, including the *Times*, by editorials supporting the move. The

[1] See the analyses of the five P. R. elections in New York City in the P. R. departments of this REVIEW for January 1938, December 1939, December 1941, December 1943 and January 1946.

Herald-Tribune carried the editorial supporting P. R. which is reproduced below.

The civic forces which led the successful campaigns for adoption and defense of P. R. are lining up again to retain it. The League of Women Voters and the Citizens Union were among the first to issue statements against the repeal. The Liberal and American Labor parties will be solidly with them and the Republican and Democratic parties will be split.

Chief emphasis in the defense will be on the fact that the proposed substitute seems certain to give the Democratic majority nearly all the members, whereas P. R. has always produced a large and able opposition, even when Mayor O'Dwyer carried every senate district in the city in 1945, and has also improved the personnel of the majority.

Politicians and P. R.

(An editorial in the *New York Herald Tribune,* April 5, 1947.)

The politicians are muttering again about proportional representation. This being an off-year in elections, the organization leaders are talking of an attempt on P. R., the system by which we have been electing our city council for the last ten years. Quite likely there will be election petitions in circulation before many months, and we shall be hearing all the old arguments about how we are suffering under P. R.

The debating society known as the city council now has 23 members, divided politically in this manner: Democrats, 12; Republicans, 5; American Labor, 2 (Quill and Connolly); Liberal, 2; Communist, 2. This is hardly a line-up to gladden a politician's heart —on a strictly partisan division the Democratic administration controls the council by only one vote. Not so long ago the board of aldermen had 64 Democrats and Joseph Clark Baldwin, and weren't those great days?

The argument is often made that P. R. affords an over-representation to radicals. How, except for this voting system, would the city council contain two Communists, certainly a disproportion to the Communist voting strength? And how would certain other councilmen of leftish sympathies fare in a conventional election? Probably not so well. But is this valid ground for throwing P. R. out the window? This proposed piece of repression carries an unhappy flavor. Certainly there is no reason for thinking that the city council would be improved if selected by party machine.

P. R. is quite able to stand on its own record. If it has produced some curious results on occasion, who are the politicians to complain? To P. R. we are indebted for such members of the council as Mrs. Genevieve Earle and Stanley Isaacs. They never would have got there otherwise. P. R. stood the test of a city referendum in 1940, winning vindication handsomely. We believe it would win again.

Carrie Chapman Catt

The grand old woman of the American woman suffrage movement, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who died on March 9 at the age of 88, was a member of the Advisory Council of the Proportional Representation League from 1919 until the time of her death. She was one of the leaders to whom P. R. appealed as a natural extension of the suffrage movement: it was important not only to get the vote but to make the vote effective in securing representation. The League of Women Voters, which she founded in 1919, has been in the forefront of campaigns for the adoption and retention of P. R. in practically every American community where it has become an issue.

County and Township . . . . Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Richmond County, Ga., Continues Modernization

Consolidation of Offices, Planning Board Provided

THE civic revival in Augusta, Georgia, which has resulted in long strides forward in modernization of both city and county government, has met with still further success before the state legislature. Most of the specific proposals are based on surveys of city and county conducted by Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed for the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League.

In the spring and summer 1946 elections the boss-ridden Cracker party, after a generation of complete control, was thoroughly defeated. This placed independents in control of the Richmond County commission, the city council, and the county delegation in the state legislature.

The county delegation has achieved substantial success in guiding reform measures through the Georgia legislature. A major victory was the passage of a new charter, providing the manager plan for Augusta, to be submitted to popular referendum May 7. Subject to referendum on the same day is a bill reorganizing the administrative structure of the school system.

Other bills enacted include abolition of the board of registrars and transfer of its functions to the county tax collector; consolidation of the offices of clerk to the county commission, custodian of the courthouse and county purchasing agent; establishment of a county planning and zoning board; prohibition of the sale of fireworks; and prohibition of loitering at the polls or soliciting votes near them.

Failing of passage were three local court reform bills, consolidation of city and county tax collection, and consolidation of city and county registration lists.

The county survey was made the subject of a series of articles by Tom O'Connor, writing in the *Augusta Chronicle*. Mr. O'Connor, in reviewing the report, stated in part:

"The five-man board of commissioners of roads and revenue has more in the way of title than it has in actual power. The board controls outright only the department of roads and bridges, the county home, the stockade and custodial services of the courthouse. Other departments are run by elected heads who look to the commission to furnish the money for their operations but otherwise are independent units of government. The board of education is an entirely independent body which fixes its own tax levy. The board of assessors is appointed by the commission but is subservient to it only as a matter of policy. Thus it is possible, under our system of county government, for department heads to set up several little governments of their own. Present financial procedures are an open invitation to carelessness, waste and overspending. The remedy lies in a county budget similar to those of the city of Augusta and the board of education, whose budget methods are strictly regulated by law.

"Deterioration of county physical property has become deplorable. Cost of government has leaped up 37 per cent in five years. Among the causes Dr. Reed lists salary increases, mandatory appropriations to the health department and cost of public welfare.

"Taking a close look at purchasing methods in force in the county prior

to the survey, Dr. Reed recommends a central purchasing agency. Such an agency was put into effect a few days after the present commission took office. Dr. Reed recommends that soon after the end of each year the commission prepare and secure the publication of a brief but comprehensive report of the county's business during the past year. Dr. Reed condemns the practice of having audits made by a regular employee of the county. Salary increases for county employees are not advocated by Dr. Reed.

Modernize Methods

"The introduction of modern bookkeeping machines in the offices of the tax departments would bring about more economical operations and greater efficiency.

"Strict provision for controlling subdividers is provided in a county planning and zoning act recently enacted.

"Recommendations for other county offices include the purchase of photocopying apparatus for use in the clerks' office and for recording such other county papers as must be copied in full.

"The responsibilities of the sheriff are not happily related to the needs of the present day. The only practical solution is a single metropolitan police force for Augusta and Richmond County.

"Dr. Reed advocates voting machines owned by the county and rented to the city. County employees should not engage actively in politics.

"Of county planning and zoning, Dr. Reed states that with the passage of legislation permitting the setup of a county-wide planning and zoning commission, no time should be lost in naming the commission and employing a competent planning consultant to prepare a plan for the county as a whole.

"The Reed report concludes with the observation that there never can be a maximum of economy and efficiency in the government of Augusta and Richmond County unless they are consolidated into one governmental unit. Many of the most vexatious questions with regard to certain departments would be solved if they were directly responsible to a single local government. Dr. Reed sees a fairer distribution of cost of government under consolidation. Moreover, there would be the great advantage of unified command. The resources of the community would be brought into use much more effectively in solving the big problems which lie concealed in the future.

"The objections of farmers and owners of rural property to consolidation in which they might be expected to pay to provide city services for others could be overcome by setting up two taxing districts. There would be a much more equitable distribution of cost than at present and, with the savings to be derived from consolidation, taxpayers in both districts would be more lightly burdened.

"Many of the recommendations in the report were made verbally to commissioners late last year by the Reeds, and the county governing body at its inaugural meeting in January put into practice much that the report suggests.

Consolidation Recommended for Alabama City and County

The Legislative Advisory Commission appointed by the 1945 Alabama legislature to make a survey of Jefferson County, including the city of Birmingham, has now made its report to the legislature with the following recommendations: (1) that the city limits of Birmingham be extended to cover "all contiguous and adjacent territory, incorporated or unincorporated"; (2)

that the government of Jefferson County and Birmingham (with its limits as extended) be consolidated; (3) that the school systems of the city and county be consolidated. A motion that Jefferson County be made into two separate counties was not accepted. Points (1) and (2) would both be subject to referendum in the areas affected.

Major Harwell G. Davis, president of Howard College, is permanent chairman of the commission, which appointed Dr. Roscoe C. Martin, director of the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Alabama, as its executive secretary, and Dr. Weldon Cooper, of the Bureau of Public Administration, as director of research.

Federal Aid for Counties Increases

Various programs of federal aid to counties are continuing to grow, and they promise to be increasingly significant in contributing to the problems of federal-state-local relationships. Several recent developments may serve as portents of trends which will cause counties to depend to an ever-increasing extent upon the federal government for financial assistance.

The funds available under the federal aid highway act are due to expire June 30, 1947. However, legislation is being prepared to extend availability of the funds for an additional period. The extension apparently is necessary because highway construction lagged as a result of labor and material shortages and high prices.

Counties received approximately five and one-half million dollars for airport construction during the first year of the federal aid airport program. Sixty-six counties in 22 states shared in the funds.

In regard to tax-exempt federally-owned land, Senator Taylor of Idaho, member of the Public Lands Committee, stated recently: "The recent hearings before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Public Lands served to bolster my conviction that the United States as a whole must share with the public lands counties some of the burden as well as the benefits brought about by the reserving of certain lands from private ownership.'

Henry County Council Ponders Continuation

The Henry County Council on Intergovernmental Relations, which has sponsored numerous proposals for local and state action to secure more effective cooperation among the several units of government, is bringing its project as originally planned to a close. Continuation of the study will depend largely upon community interest and desire for additional investigation into governmental problems. Local sponsors wish to interest the Spellman Fund in continuing its support for at least another two years.

Philadelphia Seeks More City-County Consolidation

Legislation to further city-county consolidation in Philadelphia is under consideration. The city already has partial consolidation in that a treasurer, controller and legislative body that taxes, incurs debt and appropriates money serve both city and county, but under the state constitution the two units cannot have a common executive, personnel agency or purchasing agent. Hence a constitutional amendment has been prepared which will effect complete consolidation. Such an amendment was approved by the legislatures of 1935 and 1937, but was defeated by popular state-wide referendum although overwhelmingly favored by the voters in Philadelphia. The present amendment must be passed by the 1947 and 1949 legislatures and be approved by popular referendum in the latter year.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

53 California Cities Use Sales Tax

Most of Revenue Marked for Operating Expenses

ONE OF the most interesting current developments in municipal finance is taking place on the west coast, where in the past year adoption of municipal sales and use taxes has been spreading like wildfire among California cities. In a comprehensive article on the subject[1] Richard Graves, executive secretary of the League of California Cities, lists 53 cities which had adopted sales taxes through the forepart of the year. Twelve of the cities levy a 1 per cent tax, the remainder a tax of ½ of 1 per cent.

The tax is now so widespread that among the larger cities of the state only San Francisco and Long Beach lack sales taxes. Los Angeles' tax of ½ of 1 per cent went into effect in May 1946; San Diego's tax became effective July 1, 1946, and those in Oakland, Berkeley and Glendale in October 1946. All these places have taxes of ½ of 1 per cent, the 1 per cent rate being used by smaller communities fairly well isolated from other shopping centers.

In all the larger cities and in most of the others the tax was enacted as supplementary revenue for general operating purposes, but in five cities the proceeds are earmarked for capital improvements and in two instances proceeds are to be divided between operations and capital improvements. In 45 of the cities the taxes will continue unless the enacting ordinances are repealed; in the other eight definite dates for expiration of the levies are fixed.

Most of the acts incorporated by reference the major features of the state 3 per cent sales tax, especially as to definitions of taxable transactions and exemptions, and many of the administrative regulations provided for use of report forms, etc., similar to those used for the state tax, so as to minimize confusion and reduce to a minimum the duplication of records and reports by the retailer. Administration of the city taxes was vested variously in the city clerks, treasurers, tax collectors, license collectors, chiefs of police and even, in one instance, in the city manager.

[1] *Western City*, March 1947.

Legislators Refuse Atlanta Plea for Payroll Tax

The Fulton County, Georgia, delegation to the state legislature has turned thumbs down on the request of the Atlanta city council for a one per cent payroll tax on persons residing outside the city but working within its corporate limits. Officials of most of the towns adjoining Atlanta, says *Southern City* in a report on the matter, had voiced strong opposition to the proposal.

Dewey Vetoes New York City in Rem Amendment

One of the few constructive measures adopted by the New York State legislature for the benefit of New York City was vetoed on April 9 by Governor Thomas E. Dewey. This was a measure authorizing the city to foreclose property tax liens by proceedings *in rem*, rather than by the expensive and

involved procedure of using personal suits, and permitting foreclosure on a selective basis.

Tax lien foreclosure by proceedings *in rem* is recommended as standard procedure in the *Model Tax Collection Law* of the National Municipal League, and the process has been available to upstate New York cities for several years. Elsewhere it is widely used in the most progressive tax collecting jurisdictions, for in comparison with actions *in personam* it provides a simpler and less expensive procedure and facilitates the granting of a valid tax deed. Presently, tax lien foreclosures are costing New York City an average of about $400 per parcel compared with less than $5 per parcel in upstate cities using *in rem* proceedings.

Until the governor's veto, enactment of the tax reform bill had been regarded as the only tangible benefit received by the city from the governor and Republican majority in the 1947 legislature. New York City's requests for increased state aid had been dismissed and an alternative program of the governor's enacted which extended to the city the dubious privilege of imposing a variety of local excise taxes, including a 3 per cent sales tax on restaurant checks of more than one dollar, a retail liquor license tax at 25 per cent of the state license fee, a 5 per cent admissions tax, and city motor vehicle license taxes of $5 for passenger cars and $10 for commercial vehicles. The same law also authorized use of substantially these same excises by upstate counties and cities, from which it was estimated that the localities might obtain as much as $111,000,000, of which about $24,300,000 would accrue to New York City.

Indiana Legislature Enacts Fiscal Improvements

An act of the 1947 Indiana legislature provides for the reorganizing of the state's budgeting, auditing and purchasing practices in accordance with recommendations made by the Public Administration Service. Another act, according to the legislative bulletin of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, provides for consolidation of the various separate revenue-collecting agencies of the state into a single unified department.

The legislature also provided additional state aid for education, which is expected to meet the cost of teachers' salary increases without further property tax increases in Indianapolis. It authorized a reassessment on a statewide, uniform basis in 1949, and appropriated sufficient funds for the employment of trained supervising technicians and for the use of scientific assessment methods. Proposals that state aid to cities be enlarged reached an impasse with rejection by the municipalities of a plan to enable cities to levy a local surtax on the gross income tax, and no measures for increased state aid to cities were enacted.

Virginians Survey Local Revenues

A survey of Virginia local revenue sources and of existing tax yields has been undertaken by a commission of fifteen municipal officials headed by Mayor William H. Mann, of Petersburg, which was created recently by the Virginia Municipal League.

A special subcommittee will be appointed to deal with the retail sales tax, which will be examined both as a local levy and as a state-collected, locally-shared tax. Other revenues to be reviewed include amusement and excise levies, licenses, utility service charges, property reassessments, etc. The Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Virginia will assist in the studies.

Legislatures Increase State Aid to Local Units

Thus far six 1947 state legislatures have approved bills giving local governments larger shares of certain state-collected taxes—Arkansas, Colorado, Indiana, New Mexico, Utah, and West Virginia.

Colorado legislation, effective in April, increased the state gasoline tax and allocated 6 per cent of the new revenue to cities and towns on the basis of motor vehicle registrations.

Utah's legislation increased from $800,000 to $1,500,000 the allocation to local units of state motor vehicle license collections. Another Utah law provides that all state liquor store profits in excess of $2,250,000 annually shall be distributed to localities, up to a maximum of $1,000,000 annually.

The Arkansas legislature passed four tax-sharing bills, the most important of which allocates to cities 12½ per cent of all general revenues over $33,000,000. At present state revenues are about $40,000,000 and are expected to increase gradually for several years.

New Mexico has provided for allocation to localities of 15 per cent of motor vehicle registration fees. West Virginia legislators provided for rebate to municipalities of 2 per cent of liquor store sales. Recent revision of an Indiana statute is expected to increase local shares of state gasoline taxes.

Roanoke to Tax Real Estate Transfers

The city council of Roanoke, Virginia, has enacted an ordinance imposing a tax of one per cent on real estate transfers. The tax will be paid by the purchaser, and is expected to yield from $75,000 to $100,000 per annum, which will be dedicated to the city sinking fund.

Cigarette and Tobacco Revenues Jump

The 31 states administering cigarette and tobacco taxes raised $236,500,000 from this source in 1946 as compared to $164,200,000 for 1945. Factors contributing to the 44 per cent increase include increased production following the end of the war and boosts in tax rates in some states.

Nine states reported 1946 revenues from this source in excess of $8,000,000; New York, $32,600,000; Massachusetts, $20,100,000; Texas, $19,900,000; Pennsylvania, $19,300,000; Illinois, $17,200,000; Ohio, $15,500,000; Louisiana, $11,200,000; Florida, $11,100,000; and Oklahoma, $8,800,000.

Massachusetts, with an increase of 78 per cent over 1945, showed the greatest increase with Connecticut and its 70 per cent increase a close second. Both states raised their tax rates in the latter part of 1945.

At the municipal level, Kansas City, Missouri, had a 31.8 per cent increase in 1946 cigarette tax collections with a $1,000,000 yield. Birmingham, Alabama, raised $511,000 from this source in 1946, a 34 per cent boost over the previous year.

N. Y. Port Authority Gets Airports

On April 17, following approval of the New York Board of Estimate, Mayor O'Dwyer signed an agreement to lease the city's airports to the Port of New York Authority. Among major modifications to its original proposal (see the REVIEW for March, page 173), the authority offered somewhat higher rentals, shortened the period of authority operation from 99 to 50 years, and eliminated its option to purchase.

Local Affairs Abroad . . . . *Edited by Edward W. Weidner*

British Health Minister on Centralization

Local Authorities Not on Way Out Says Bevan

IN ENGLAND and Wales there are about 29,000,000 men and women with the right to vote in local government elections. In most places the size of the poll is rarely more than a third of the electorate, and in some it may be as small as a tenth. Less than half the electorate in London are in the habit of using their municipal votes.

Behind all this apathy is a tendency throughout the country to under-rate the work of local authorities. This attitude, which was always deplorable, has special dangers for the health of our democracy at the present time but it is being encouraged even by some spokesmen of local government itself.

The indifferent citizen, not wanting to bother about local government, is letting himself be persuaded that what powers it ever had are being whittled away by current legislation. Yet it is precisely in the present reconstruction period that local government has a specially vital contribution to make. The plain fact is that local authorities have more work on hand than at any time in their history, and local government can be more glorious in the future than it has ever been in the past.

The local authority suffers the same mutations as any other social institution. Local government just can't stay put—rigidity can only spell atrophy; it must be adaptable to the needs of modern society. Still the fact remains that local government is the most intimate kind of public administration we have, and that means there are certain tasks that only local authorities can properly undertake, because only they have the requisite knowledge and the right machinery.

One of those tasks at the present time is housing. Presumably nobody thinks housing of secondary importance! On the local authorities falls all the work of acquiring and preparing sites, planning houses and getting them out to contract, and finally allocating them as fairly as possible to the families in greatest need.

The local authorities know the housing problem "on the ground." They know what kinds of houses are most needed, where they can best be built, and who has first claim to live in them; and they offer the most effective instrument for the production of houses for renting. So the government has put on the local authorities the main burden of the housing program.

The number of houses under contract to be built will soon be approaching the half million mark. This part of the work has indeed been done so quickly that at the moment the building industry has been given more work than it can handle. Considered in relation to the nation's enormous housing needs, the number of houses built or building represents no more than a good start; but that we have made so good a start in the face of immense difficulties is a testimony to the energy and efficiency of our local authorities—whom many people considered totally unfit for this great responsibility when first it was placed upon them.

Another field where local government is going to find abundant scope is that of the new health centers—a main feature of the personal practitioner services provided for in the national health service act. It is to be the duty of the county and county borough councils to provide, equip and maintain the new health centers, and I know they will get off to a very good start, even though because of shortage of building capacity they will have to use existing buildings for a time.

THE RT. HON. ANEURIN BEVAN, M.P.
Britain's Minister of Health

Nottingham Creates Information Center

Nottingham's Information and Advice Center, although less than a year old, solves 6,000 personal problems alone. It has a staff of 45 people—twelve for information and 33 for housing problems. This center is typical of many throughout England and Wales.

The Information and Advice Center was established in 1946 when the Citizen's Advice Bureau closed. At this time there was a conflict in views concerning its function; some believed that a local authority was less fitted than an unofficial organization to provide service for a citizen in domestic trouble, while others felt that the underlying cause of many personal problems lay in some activity of local or central government such as housing; therefore, the local authority was qualified to give advice on personal problems. The latter view was proved dominant by the results of inquiries.

The experience of Nottingham has shown that a local authority through its facilities and contacts and by sympathy and practical assistance can provide an adequate service which meets the social needs of its citizens.[1]

Electricity Bill Would Provide National Authority

A major measure before the British House of Commons is the electricity bill. A main feature calls for the setting up of a national authority to regulate and supervise the generation and supply of electricity. It is also suggested that the country be divided into districts for coordination of electrical distribution and that this be under the control of a district board. The bill would establish area boards which would acquire the bulk of supplies from the central authority to be redistributed to consumers in their area. The area boards' policy would be directed toward economical methods of operating and transmitting electricity. The bill would remove the service of distribution from 370 local authorities and 190 companies and transfer it to the area boards.[2]

Other British Proposals Cover Restaurants, Transport

The civic restaurants bill before the British House of Commons would enable local authorities to continue serving public meals and similar activities which they have undertaken under the general title of "British restaurants," established in 1940 because of wartime needs. This experience, reports the *Municipal Journal* (London), has shown that local authorities can run profitable businesses by serving good cheap meals and it was questioned whether private enterprise could provide meals on the same scale.

An amendment, carried by one vote and attached to the bill in standing

[1] *Local Government Service,* January 1947.
[2] See *Municipal Journal,* January 10, 1947.

committee, forbids the sale of intoxicating liquors. The amendment was protested because local citizens would not be permitted to decide the issue by referendum.

The transport bill presented recently deals with railways and canals, transportation of goods by road, passenger road transportation, and harbors and ports. A transport commission will be set up which will take over canal travel, road transportation, and privately owned railroads.

International Groups to Discuss Local Affairs

Two international congresses concerned with vital problems of municipal life and public administration are to be held in Europe this summer.

The seventh International Congress of Local Authorities will meet in Paris July 6-12. Subjects to be discussed are: (1) The role of the communities in civic education; (2) reconstruction and replanning of cities; (3) autonomy of municipalities.

The seventh International Congress of Administrative Sciences will hold its sessions in Berne, Switzerland, July 22-30. Its topics include: (1) Administrative tasks in the postwar period and the experience of the war; (2) chief of government and the organization of his staff; (3) participation of civil servants and their associations in administration; (4) position of local and regional authorities and their relation to the central government.

Another meeting of special interest to public administrators is the British Institute of Public Administration, which will be held June 26-30 at Ashridge. The subject of the conference will be "Administrative Implications of Nationalization." The American Committee for the International Union of Local Authorities will supply further information about this conference.

An International Exposition of Urbanism and Housing at Paris is scheduled to begin July 10.

Women in Civil Service

A recent announcement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Great Britain, says the *Municipal Review*, stated that marriage will not be a bar to appointment of women to home civil service positions. It has been suggested that local authorities should consider adopting a similar policy for local appointments.

* * *

Local Employees over Million

The Minister of Labor announced on September 30, 1946, that employees of various classes of local authorities in Great Britain was 1,019,000. This figure included men from 14 to 65 years of age and women from 14 to 60. Of the total number 43 per cent were employed by county councils, 37 per cent by county borough councils and councils of large burghs and cities in Scotland, 12 per cent by municipal boroughs and metropolitan boroughs, 5 per cent by urban district councils and councils of small burghs in Scotland, 2 per cent by rural district councils, and 1 per cent by other local authorities such as joint boards.[8]

* * *

Cities Make Finance Pleas

The Association of Municipal Corporations, composed of large British cities, has made the following recommendations: (1) the central government should waive repayment of advances made to local authorities for utility deficiencies as was done with the general rate fund deficiencies; and (2) the whole burden of loss of rate revenue due to enemy action should be borne nationally.

[8]The *Municipal Journal*, January 10, 1947.

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Books in Review

The Shore Dimly Seen. By Ellis Gibbs Arnall. Philadelphia, J. N. Lippincott Company, 1946. 312 pp. $3.

The Shore Dimly Seen presents Governor Arnall's program for approaching the goal of "a land of the free"; a program based on his belief in democracy and individualism and his knowledge of the south and experience as governor of Georgia.

In his opinion the problems of the south spring largely from national policies, thus requiring national as well as local remedies. Because southern and western industries are prohibited from marketing their products in competition with the heavily industrialized northeast those areas have been driven to exporting their natural resources and forest products.

Concerning the Negro, Governor Arnall believes the south is his natural home where he can have the ample living space denied in the north and is welcome as a farm owner; that his problem is part of the general poverty of the region and will be solved as that is solved.

Governor Arnall believes "in local responsibility." He says, "Very seldom is there heard a resounding demand that states' rights be maintained by the states' assumption of responsibilities. Yet if county and municipal goverment on the one hand and the federal government on the other displayed such a tendency to shirk responsibility as do state governments in general there would be governmental chaos in America. . . .

"The need for governmental reform at the state level is acute. In emphasizing the shortcomings of Georgia . . . I do not mean to suggest that its state government was much worse than average . . . . Its basic organization of agencies and its distribution of authority among the three branches was better than in many other states. The appellate jurisdiction of its court of last resort was more adequate than in Massachusetts. The governor's authority was not so dangerously hedged as in Connecticut. The tax system was not in the chaos that seems chronic in New Jersey, nor was it as regressive as that adopted in Ohio in recent years. . . .

"There must be some readjustment of the general tax situation in the nation so that state finances may be better ordered."

The story of Governor Arnall's success in securing a new state constitution is well known.

On the federal level, an enormous portion of the suggested spending for prevention of depression would be in the nature of investment in self-liquidating projects. "The Tennessee Valley Authority has been one of the most profitable investments in the history of federal finance, in addition to its accomplishments for a depressed, exploited and temporarily submarginal area."

Governor Arnall suggests that regional problems such as the Missouri Valley and the northwest can be met by "the creation of regional authorities on the pattern of the TVA . . . until such time as state governments by experimentation and development of a sense of responsibility are equipped to proceed with such programs through compacts among themselves."

ALICE L. BEBOUT
New Jersey League of Women Voters

The Self-Supporting City. By Gilbert M. Tucker. New York 21, Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1946. 108 pp. $1.

This little book adds a little to the store of single-tax material by adducing some recent facts that fit the case. The author proposes untaxing urban buildings in installments over eight successive years, transferring the burden to land. I, for one, believe in this and in its long range benefits but I wish the trickle of fresh data had not been submerged in the wordy enthusiasm with which the sound arguments are belabored; each little, and usually undocumented, fact is made the basis for eager pages of earnest moralizing and over-simplified assumptions.

But it is all true enough although little of it is new, and I hope it will find its way to some of the people who have not heard of Henry George.

RICHARD S. CHILDS

Chicago's Law Year 1946. By Barnet Hodes. Chicago, Department of Law, 1947. 167 pp.

Mr. Hodes' current volume, in addition to covering his 1946 report, contains an attractively illustrated discussion of the postwar problems of municipalities—housing, slums, veterans, unions, finance, etc. There is also a resume of the department's work for the past twelve years—since the consolidation of the city's legal services.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Building Codes

Suggested Building Code Ordinance for Small Municipalities. Lexington, Kentucky Municipal League, 1946. 32 pp. 50 cents.

Directories

1946 Legal Aid Directory. Rochester, New York, National Association of Legal Aid Organizations, 1946. 39 pp. $1.

Highways

Aerial Surveys Aid Highway Location. Symposium Presented Before Surveying and Mapping Division of the New York Annual Meeting. By Edward T. Gawkins, William J. Cox, and E. C. Houdlette. Philadelphia 20, Aero Service Corporation, 1947. 14 pp.

Public Control of Highway Access and Roadside Development. By David R. Levin. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. vi, 154 pp. 35 cents.

Housing

Reference and Source Material on I. Housing and Housing Needs; II. Economic and Social Costs of Good and Bad Housing; III. Who Pays for Public Housing. Washington, D. C., Federal Public Housing Authority, National Housing Agency, 1947. 36 pp

Parking

Parking Manual. How to Solve Community Parking Problems. Washington 6, D. C., American Automobile Association, 1946. viii, 181 pp. $1.

Personnel

Personnel Administration and Civil Service. A Selected List of References. Washington, D. C., U. S. Civil Service Commission, the Library, 1946. 32 pp.

Public Employees and Employee Organizations. A Panel Discussion. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1947. 10 pp. 50 cents.

Public Relations from the Viewpoint of the Press. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1947. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Population

Estimated Population of the United States by Age, Color and Sex: 1940 to 1946. Recent Trends in Population Replacement. School Enrollment of the Civilian Population: October 1946. Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1947. 8, 6, and 1 pp. respectively.

Public Administration

Periodicals Currently Received. A List of 672 Periodicals in Public Ad-

ministration and Related Fields. Chicago 37, Public Administration Clearing House, Joint Reference Library, 1946. 40 pp.

Public Ownership

Trend Toward Public Ownership of Electric Utilities. By R. E. McDonnell. (Address before Indiana Municipal Electric Association). Kansas City, Missouri, Burns & McDonnell Engineering Company, 1946. 24 pp.

Public Works

Public Works Engineers' Yearbook-Directory—1946. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1946. 252 pp.

State Government

Messages of the Governors 1947. Chicago, Council of State Governments, *State Government,* February 1947. 44 pp. 50 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Oklahoma Sales Tax, Including Operations of the Use and Music Box Tax. Statistical Report for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1946. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, 1947. 29 pp.

The Property Tax Problem. By Frederick L. Bird, etc. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* February 1947. 28 pp. 50 cents.

Report of the Senate Interim Committee on State and Local Taxation. Sacramento, California Legislature, 1947. 61 pp.

School Finance Goals. Washington 6, D. C., National Education Association of the United States, Research Division, 1946. 41 pp. 25 cents.

State Tax Legislation 1946. Chicago 37, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1947. 30 pp.

State Debt in 1946. (Preliminary). By Wylie Kilpatrick and N. B. Gerry. Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1947. 7 pp.

Summary of County Government Finances in 1944 (Preliminary). By Wylie Kilpatrick. Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1946. 16 pp.

Taxation and Business Enterprise. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1947. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Tax Proposals to Aid Small Business. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1947. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Traffic Safety

Let's Teach Driving. An Administrative Guidebook, Washington 6, D. C., National Commission on Safety Education of the National Education Association, 1947. 135 pp. 50 cents (reductions on quantity orders).

National Poster Contest 1947. School Traffic Safety Posters. Washington 6, D. C., American Automobile Association, 1947. 6 pp.

1 Out of 3 Drives with Dangerous Lights, Brakes, Tires, Windshield Wipers or Horns—a Summary of the Police Traffic Safety Check. Evanston, Illinois, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1947. 32 pp. Illus.

Hold That Line—20,000, 30,000, 40,000 Traffic Deaths. Chicago 2, U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce 1947. 39 pp.

Traffic Safety Education. A Guidebook for State and Civic Officials. Saugatuck, Connecticut, Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, 1947. 68 pp.

Zoning

Effective Zoning. Trenton, New Jersey State Department of Economic Development, Division of Planning and Engineering, 1946. 13 pp.

Revised Zoning Ordinance, City of Wichita, Kansas. Wichita, City Clerk, 1947. 35 pp.

Airport Zoning Ordinance for the Zoning of Public Airports by Minnesota Municipalities and Counties. St. Paul 4, Minnesota Department of Aeronautics, 1946. Variously paged.